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BURIAL VARIATION AND FUNERARY RITUALS IN EARLY IRON AGE GREECE: A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF ATHENS, THE EUBOEAN GULF REGIONS AND CONNECTED ISLANDS

BY

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Abstract:

This thesis investigates burial practices and contingent rituals during the Early Iron Age in Greece, with a specific focus on Athens, the Euboean Gulf, and associated Islands. The core of this research lies in six gazetteer chapters, each dedicated to a distinct geographical location 1) Athens, 2) Euboea, 3) Boeotia, 4) Magnesia, 5) Phthiotis-East Locris-Phokis, and 6) Pithekoussai-Naxos-Paros-Skyros-Skiathos. In the analysis of burial sites I examine the social dynamics underpinning regional burial customs. A comparative analysis of the data for all the applicable areas is then used to identify mortuary variability, highlighting identify trends and differences. The intricacies of the funerary process and related rituals provide contextual insight into the web of beliefs and practices. In the conclusion, I offer a nuanced perspective of the complexities inherent in Early Iron Age burials and rituals in central Greece. By placing the results within a multidimensional framework, my research contributes to our broader understanding of archaeology of the period and of the social and cultural factors that shaped this Greek society in the pre-Archaic period.

Ἐμοῦ θανόντος γαῖα μιχθήτω πυρί·

οὐδὲν μέλει μοι· τἀμὰ γὰρ καλῶς ἔχει.

When I am dead may earth be mingled with fire.

It matters not to me, for with me all is well.

Anonymous, *Greek Anthology*, 7.704

"Earthmen are not proud of their ancestors,

and rarely invite them round for dinner."

Hitchhikers Guide to the Galaxy, Douglas Adams

Dedicated to my wife Lowri and my daughter Anna.

Acknowledgments:

This thesis came to fruition during a challenging period that coinciding with my daughter's early childhood and the onset of the COVID-19 pandemic. The pandemic brought about not only lockdowns but also the personal impact of contracting COVID-19 and experiencing the effects of debilitating long COVID and a period of prolonged ill health.

In this context I would like to start by expressing my deepest appreciation to my wife Lowri and daughter Anna for their unwavering support throughout the intensive and demanding journey of my research.

Lowri, your consistent encouragement and sacrifices allowed me to maintain my focus on my research with resolve. Anna, your infectious joy and boundless affection has kept me grounded and reminds me of my potential. I am profoundly grateful to have both of you by my side.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THE TEXT

ArchDelt	***Archaiologikon Deltion*** **(Journal)**
BA	**Bronze Age**
BCE	**Before Common Era**
EA	**Early Archaic**
EBA	**Early Bronze Age**
EG	**Early Geometric**
EH	**Late Helladic**
EIA	**Early Iron Age**
EPG	**Early Protogeometric**
ERGON	***Ergon tes en Athenais Archaiologikes Hetaireias*** **(Journal)**
G	**Geometric**
LBA	**Late Bronze Age**
LG	**Late Geometric**
LH	**Late Helladic**
LPG	**Late Protogeometric**
MG	**Middle Geometric**
MPG	**Middle Protogeometric**

PAE	***Praktika tes en Athenais Archaiologikes Hetaireias* (Journal)**
PG	**Protogeometric Period**
SM	**Submycenaean Period**
SubG	**Sub-Geometric Period**
SPG	**Sub-Protogeometric Period**

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CHAPTER 1 - GENERAL INTRODUCTION

The Early Iron Age (EIA) in Greece is a unique period to study; whilst not prehistory such as the chronological eras that preceded it, it is also not included in the historical period of Classical antiquity, which until recently made up the bulk of scholarly study concerning the Greek world. Covering more than four centuries, from the collapse of the Mycenaean civilisation to the end of the 8th century BCE, archaeologists assess this period by examining evidence primarily derived from mainly mortuary contexts. Settlement archaeology is lacking, contemporaneous textual evidence is largely absent, and the available evidence for cult sites is sparse. The debate regarding the dating of the Homeric texts is itself historic, the oral history of Homer as transmitted to text can only date after the transitional period between the Late Geometric period and the Early Archaic period.[1] Settlement data for this period is derived from the remnants of wells and walls, with most evidence of settlements or habitations destroyed due to subsequent re-use in the following periods. Due to these limitations, the period has historically been labelled a 'Dark Age'; this was first coined by Murray in 1907 and popularised by Ure in 1921, with the term becoming common by the mid-20th century but now primarily rejected.[2] Due to the lack of an established chronological framework for the period, scholars tended to evaluate the archaeological evidence in reference to either the Mycenaean and Archaic periods or both.[3] They identify possible trends that could provide continuity from the Late Bronze Age to the Archaic period, which is a useful analytical tool. However, caution should be exercised to avoid creating false correlations of trends as the evidence for settlement continuity

[1] Morris 1986, Dickinson 1986, Sherratt 1990, Nagy 1996.
[2] Murray 1907; Ure 1921.
[3] Starr 1961.

is limited in the majority of regions examined, and periods of habitation must be placed in a greater context in line with the defragmentation of the population at this time. It is crucial to allow for fluidity in interpretation, and developments should be viewed as reactionary to external forces, or as part of regional dynamics unique to individual settlements and regions, as well as chronological periods. The motivation for my research stems from wanting to examine the most common form of data for the period and cross-reference it to different regions to establish regional diversity or to show continuity in both cultural trends and mortuary character, reflecting a coherent trend. This methodology extends to the ritualistic contexts of burials looking for an underlying pattern to either expand upon or intersect with near contemporary belief systems for the period (see *Section 1.6* and *Chapter 9*).

1.1 A brief history of Scholarship

The period after the collapse of the Mycenaean palaces falls roughly between 1050 - 700 BCE. The study of this period emerged as a significant focus once the history and culture of Mycenaean Greece were established. Scholars wanted to explore the gap in evidence that formed in the wake of the LBA collapse.[4] The rise of Early Iron Age archaeology comes from investigations into the end of Mycenaean Greece and the decipherment of Linear B, with the archaeology of the period studied before this not in any self-defined manner. Traditionally classical scholarship focused on Homeric studies, which were usually expanded upon and inserted into this period, with the era branded as *The Heroic Age* or *Homeric Age,*[5] this trend has even

[4] Select examples include Dickinson 2006, Cline 2014, Mureddu 2016.
[5] Selected examples include Lang 1901, Ridgeway 1901, Allen 1925, Stobart 1915.

continued in modern generalist textbooks to a point.[6] However, by the mid-20th century, it was evident that the literary tradition did not match the findings in the material record. This realisation led scholars to evaluate the period in archaeological terms rather than in reference to general Homeric themes. From the mid to late 20th century, several studies, published in quick succession, became the foundation for the study of *Early Greece*. Desborough and Coldstream both published works on the pottery of the Protogeometric and Geometric periods, respectively. However, these earlier works only catalogued and evaluated the ceramic evidence based on typology and sequence and did not engage with the broader academic debate about the historical, cultural, or intellectual framework of archaeological investigation for this period. Starr published *The Origins of Greek Civilization 1100 – 650 BC* (1961), placing the study of the EIA in its historical context, looking at archaeological sequences through a historical lens. Following this, in the 1970s, three comprehensive works emerged that focused solely on the archaeology of the period: Snodgrass's *The Dark Age of Greece* (1971), Desborough's *Greek Dark Ages* (1972), and Coldstream's *Geometric Greece* (1977).[7] These texts synthesised the primary source of information from scattered field reports into accessible reference works, establishing the field. Since these initial publications, there has been a remarkable increase in the study of the archaeology of the EIA to the degree that it has now emerged into the mainstream scholarly consciousness as a viable sub-discipline.

Such is its acceptance as a proto-historical epoch between the Late Bronze Age and Archaic periods of Greek antiquity that most modern academics now dismiss

[6] Selective examples include Burckhardt 1999: 135-159; Beaton 2021: 41-70.

[7] For purposes of referencing, when referring to these works, I will be using later editions see Coldstream 2008 [1968]; Snodgrass 2000 [1971] and Coldstream 2003 [1977], as these include a re-orientation of the existing and new evidence together. Neither Starr's 1961 nor Desborough's 1972 work has been revised since publication.

the concept of a *Dark Age* as an obsolete construct as it signifies overtones of regression, contrary to the evidence of the period. Kotsonas outlines the history of the term *Dark Age*s, showing how the issue has factionalised scholars, especially in the 1980s and 1990s, and there is now an agreed consensus in terminology, with most modern specialists referring to the period as the Early Iron Age.[8] Murray, in general agreement with Kotsonas, also adds the caveat that the usage of *'Dark Age'* is now only popular in textbooks and general works and is only deployed as useful shorthand amongst some generalists.[9] Even ardent proponents of the term validate the accepted terminology, e.g. Snodgrass, who states that he regrets not using the Early Iron Age as the title of his monograph; and subsequently has primarily used this term in his published work.[10]

Since the publication of these works, other authoritative publications have emerged in line with the popularity of the subject and the advancement of archaeological techniques and theories. A selective list includes Morris's *Burial and Ancient Society* (1987), which examines the discipline in terms of cliodynamics and is considered the seminal work on examining mortuary trends for the EIA; Whitley's *Style and Society in Dark Age Greece* (1993), which analyses material culture and art in the setting of broader social and historical contexts; Mazarakis-Ainian's *From Ruler's Dwelling to Temples* (1997), which analyses how architectural remnants intersect with religion and the structure of elite society; Lemos's *The Protogeometric Aegean* (2002), which focuses on demonstrating through archaeology the cultural, social, and economic changes of the PG period; and Dickinson's *The Aegean from Bronze Age to Iron Age* (2006), a general textbook aimed at making the period even more

[8] Kotsonas 2016: 264.
[9] Murray 2018: 19.
[10] Snodgrass 2000:xxiv; Kotsonas 2016: 257.

accessible in terms of reference works. As well as these books, many other publications that specialise in individual regions, topics, and sub-phases within the relative chronology are available (see bibliography for those referenced throughout the thesis). In addition, a database has been created by the University of Thessaly at Volos under the direction of Mazarakis-Ainian titled *'The Aristeia Project.'* This study aims to provide a comprehensive perspective on the archaeology of the Greek World, from the Late Bronze Age until the end of the 7th century BCE, through the application of modern technology, 'archaeometric' analysis, and bio-archaeological studies. Whilst this project only ran for three years, its results have been published online and will be utilised throughout this thesis. However, not all entries have yielded sufficient information for inclusion, and those used were published on the website on or before 7th September 2023.

1.2 The debate regarding chronology

The chronological span covered by the EIA period extends over four centuries; therefore, the focus of this thesis will be on the mortuary archaeology of the Protogeometric and Geometric period, although where relevant, it may be necessary to refer to contexts or subjects which may overlap with the early 7th century BCE. The thesis largely excludes the SM period because it was the height of the swift deterioration that defined the collapse in the Late Bronze Age and is not indicative of the centuries that ensued. Instead, the focus is on the Protogeometric and Geometric periods, marked by shifts in burial customs. These periods exhibit more noteworthy advancements in contrast to the SM period, which witnessed a transition from multiple

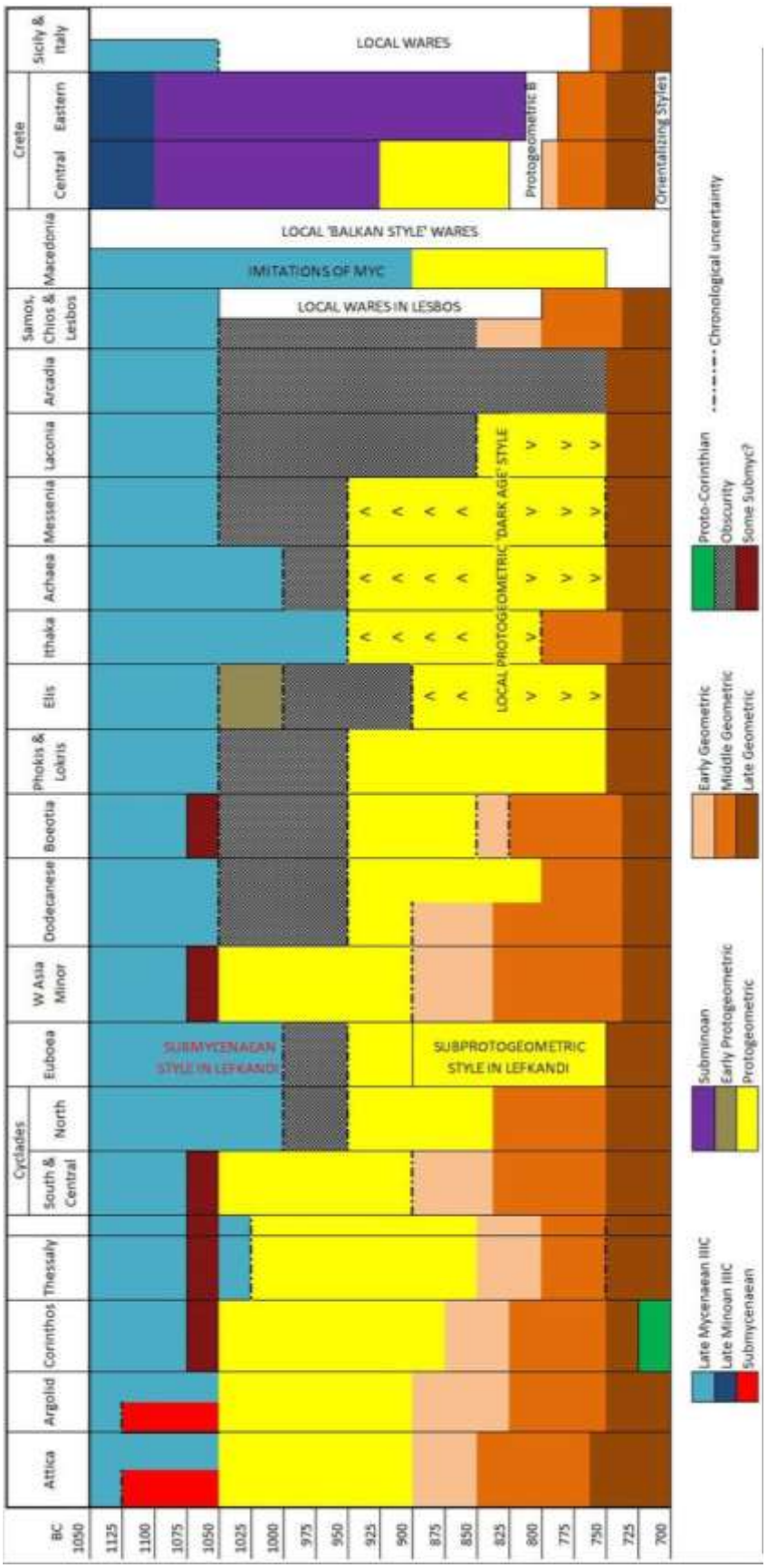


Figure 1: Chronology of the Aegean Early Iron Age period and its geographical subdivisions[11]

[11] Violatti 2015.

burials used during the LBA to single inhumation graves and a general decline. As there are no written sources that describe a historical narrative for the period, several phases of sub-divisions were devised to reflect changes in the material culture concerning the style of decoration on ceramic vessels (Fig. 1). The established relative chronology of the Aegean was determined through a study conducted by Kahune, using an unbroken sequence of Attic pottery from thirty grave groups in Attica. This study would later be described as epoch-making by Coldstream.[12]

Subsequently, this sequence was confirmed by a later analysis of a hundred graves, mainly from the Kerameikos, and the pottery from associated graves and wells of the Athenian Agora.[13] The pottery sequence runs uninterrupted from the Protogeometric period to the Late Geometric period. By establishing links through this sequence, archaeologists could establish a relative chronology for other regions in the Aegean.[14] For neighbouring regions of Attica, this is relatively straightforward, as the pottery was exported and emulated closely appearing as Attic in character; however, for more distant regions such as parts of Crete or the southwest Peloponnese and North West regions of Greece, the link to the Attic sequence is difficult to establish.[15] Only when these parts of Greece started producing recognisable versions of the Late Geometric style could their relative chronology be established.[16] Not all scholars find the conventional relative chronology adequate when dating sites, and there have been several notable examples of scholars attempting to establish their own regional sequence (i.e. Torone in Chalcidice and Nichoria in Elis),[17] as it may be that certain

[12] Coldstream 2008: 5.
[13] Ibid., 5.
[14] Ibid., 8.
[15] Ibid., 337-340.
[16] Morris 1998: 52, cited in Dickinson 2019: 47.
[17] Stryenius 1967: 24-28, 55-58; Papadopoulos 2005; Coulson et al. 1983.

sites are set out according to a pre-determined chronological sequence, or the excavators were uneasy with a scheme that uses relative chronology from Central Greece.[18]

The second technique to establish a chronological sequence is radiocarbon dating. This technique is more accurate, and the results have so far suggested that the dates of the established 'relative' chronological system need amending. According to Facorellis, 168 published radiocarbon dates from 17 sites show that absolute dates (using Bayesian modelling) from northern Greece are systemically earlier by 70 to 100 years than the conventional chronologies of southern Greece.[19] However, using this method of dating is still problematic. Since its initial publication in 1986, the applicable international calibration curve has seen several successive updates, the latest being INTCAL20, released in 2020. This means that for studies using obsolete calibration curves, there may be a problem with the dates published.[20]

This lack of consistency in the publication of dates may prevent an established chronology from being developed for the EIA using absolute dating.[21] Subsequently, as a relative dating system stems from the Attic sequence, revising the dating would have a knock-on effect on other chronological periods within the scope of the EIA, with established periods needing to be revised and, in some instances, considerably lengthened. This is partly due to later verified dates, as, by the 7th century, a conventionally agreed historical framework is also anchored to chronology from the Near East, and the implementation of an absolute dating system would see established conclusions needing to be corrected.[22] Despite the limitations of

[18] Kotsonas 2016: 258.
[19] Facorellis 2017: 749.
[20] Doumet-Serhal et al. 2023.
[21] Facorellis 2017: 747, 749.
[22] Dickinson 2019: 48-49.

Geometric chronology, and as absolute dating has not primarily been adopted in the field, for this study, the chronological references throughout will be in reference to the conventional relative dating system (Fig. 1). Further to this chronology differs from region to region, and all references to chronological periods made in the various geographical chapters are relevant only to those regions.

1.3 Consideration of geographical and its interaction with cultural dynamics

The geographical scope of this thesis focuses on the mortuary archaeology of central Greece, centred around the Euboean Gulf, which played a significant role in maritime trade and interactions within the ancient Mediterranean. Modern central Greece, administratively categorized as Sterea Ellada, encompasses subregions such as Boeotia, Euboea (especially the settlements opposite the mainland), Phokis, and Phthiotis, and Evritania. Geographically, it extends to include Attica, distinguishing it from Western Greece, the Peloponnese, the Aegean islands, and northern Greece. Connectivity across the macro-region is facilitated by key conduits, with the Euboean Gulf serving as a maritime axis and the Isthmus corridor linking central Greece to the Corinthian Gulf.[23]

Regions like Boeotia and Euboea are intriguing due to their interconnectedness and regional proximity, exemplified by events such as the Boeotian poet Hesiod competing in a song contest in Euboea.[24] Historically, Boeotia fell under the influence of Attica, and in the LBA, there is some evidence from Linear B archives at Thebes to suggest that the palatial centre at Thebes also exerted some influence in the area (although whether merely transactional via trade, or political exertion such as a

[23] Knodell 2021:43-46.
[24] Hes.*WD.655.*

tributary relationship is still under debate).[25] During the EIA, Boeotia served as a trade conduit of Euboea, extending towards Phokis (especially the important sanctuary of Kalapodi) and also towards East Locris, Phthiotis, and Thessaly. The two regions may also be linked, considering the etymology of their names: Boeotia, meaning 'the land of the oxen' or 'the land of cattle'[26], and Euboea, meaning 'the land of the good grazing' or 'well-fed cattle'.[27] This interconnectedness between regions is observed throughout all the regions of central Greece, demonstrating cultural connectivity. The geographical concentration around the Euboean Gulf offers a systematic perspective

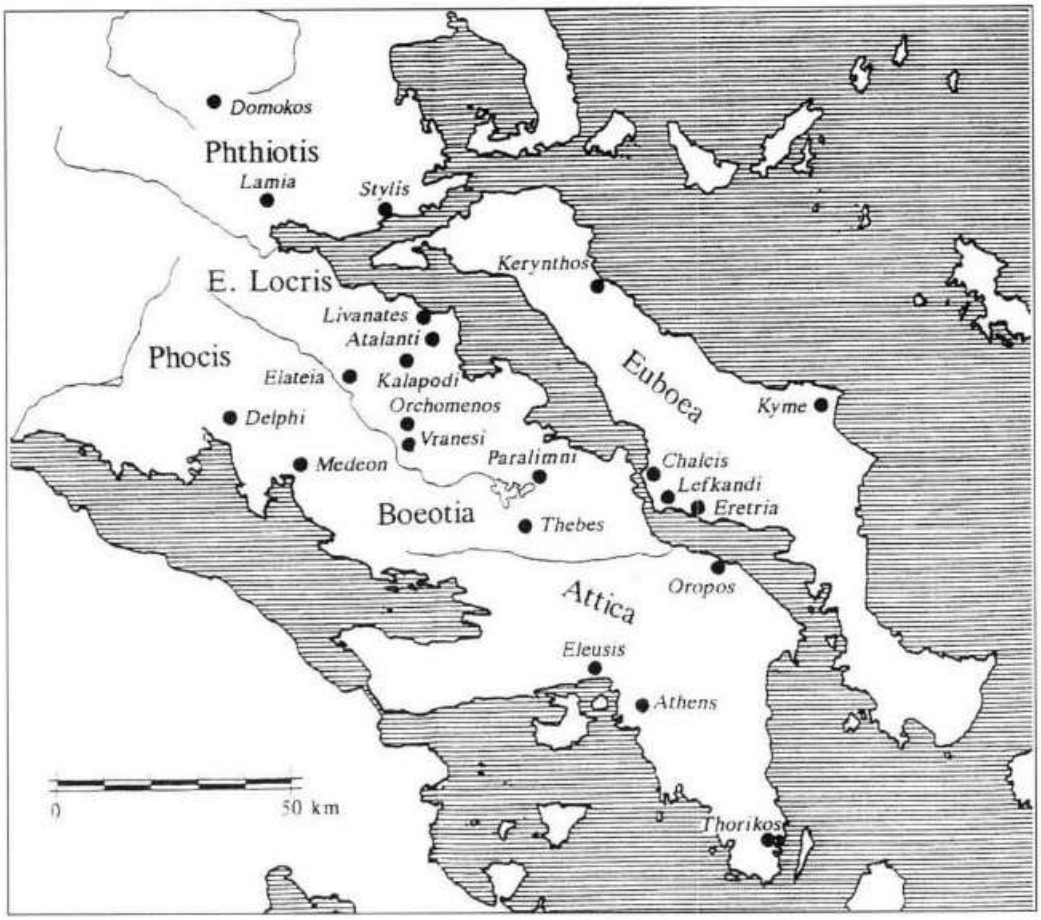


Figure 2: Map of the Euboean Koine in Central Greece[28]

[25] Aravantinos 2019:768; Knodell 2021:76, Table 7.
[26] The name is derived from the Greek word 'βοῦς' (boûs), meaning 'ox' or 'cow'.
[27] The name is derived from the Greek words 'εὖ' (eu), meaning 'good' or 'well', and 'βοῦς' (boia), meaning 'ox' or 'cow'.
[28] Lemos 1998: Fig. 1.

along established network routes, facilitating the examination of burial practices and cultural dynamics, particularly in areas previously overlooked in scholarship. This approach allows for a comparative analysis in Chapter 8, providing a nuanced understanding of cultural dynamics during the Early Iron Age.

Central Greece includes several areas where a common or shared pottery style has been observed, termed by some as *'The Euboean 'Koine*'.[29] The term *Koine* signifies the uniformity in style of specific categories of material culture. The Euboean *Koine* traditionally refers to the consistency of an EIA ceramic style dating from the Sub-Mycenaean to Late Protogeometric and Sub-Protogeometric periods (11th to mid-9th century BCE). The distinct style of pottery associated with this *Koine* includes the recognizable 'pendant semi-circle (PSC) skyphos,' extensively discovered across various locations in the Aegean and even in the Levant in substantial quantities.

This cultural model was first cautiously hypothesized by Desborough and included the PG ceramic wares of Thessaly, Naxos, and Paros due to the similarity in pottery shapes and decoration.[30] Later, with the results of the excavations at Lefkandi, Desborough adapted the model to be centred on Euboea, extending to coastal Thessaly in the north (including Skiathos), Skyros, and Naxos.[31] This idea of a *koine* was also adopted by Lemos, who expanded the geographical scope to coastal Boeotia, Phokis, and East Locris, presenting the *koine* as having a viable influence on EIA material from Attica, possibly extending into the Argolid somewhat (Fig.2).[32] Since inception, this model has adapted, with further scholarship suggesting that parts of

[29] Vlachou 2015.
[30] Desborough 1972.
[31] Desborough 1980: 286 cited in Donnellan 2017:43.
[32] Lemos 1998: 45.

Chalcidice, Macedonia, and Thrace should be included, and the *koine* should be known as the 'Northern West Aegean *Koine*'.[33]

Additionally, cultural connections within certain parts of the *Koine* are suggested by the widespread use of Protogeometric bronze fibulae instead of pins, shared access to imported items such as gold jewellery and imported wares (abundant at Lefkandi), and the adoption of apsidal building plans.[34] Furthermore, while this ceramic link is only acknowledged to apply to the Sub-Mycenaean and Protogeometric periods, the evidence suggests that it extended to the end of the EIA, such as the morphological similarities in local pottery styles seen throughout the entire period.[35] In the context of burial customs, the use of specific goods associated with connectivity, either imported or influenced by neighbouring regions, underscores the social significance of maintaining regional ties, particularly among competing elites.

This model does have its detractors, as some scholars have questioned the validity of the link between settlements and the '*Koine*' centre on Euboea. For example, Papadopoulos and Donnellan argue that the role of Euboea is overemphasized or that there are dissimilarities in pottery styles that challenge the connection.[36] Also, the relevance of connections of the *koine* outside of ceramic studies has been questioned, as the *Koine* hypothesis does not touch upon the political systems of the EIA, proto-poleis areas versus areas dominated by kin or tribal links (*ethnos*).[37] This thesis does not aim to present a comprehensive view of all supposed *Koine* areas; instead, the dissertation focuses on Central Greece, overlapping some traditionally marked *koine* areas, particularly settlements in Euboea

[33] Gimatzidis 2011: 95; Hammond 1998; Snodgrass 1994.
[34] Vlachou 2015; Lemos 1998: 54–7; Mazarakis Ainian 2012.
[35] Gimatzidis 2011: 95; Vlachou 2015:1.
[36] Papadopoulos 1997; Donnellan 2017.
[37] Papadopoulos 2015: 186.

and the surrounding regions of the Euboean Gulf (Chapters 3-6). But also including areas supposedly outside the *koine* such as the whole of Boeotia (not just the coast), Athens, and Pithekoussai (with its hybrid culture between Phoenician-Greek-*Italic* peoples).

Despite changes in political territories, the geographical regions of Central Greece are considered cohesive landscapes. The thesis commences with Athens and Euboea, followed by a roughly clockwise exploration through Boeotia, emphasizing the defined area of Central Greece (Chapters 2-6). The range of mountains that stretch from the Pindus to the Gulf of Corinth serves as the western boundary of Modern Central Greece, both in geographical and cultural terms. This region has not been included in the thesis as there is a scarcity of EIA artifacts even in the somewhat accessible foothills, emphasising the cultural and geographic boundary this barrier represents with Western Greece. Chapter 7 introduces additional case studies on selected Islands in the North Sporades, Cyclades, extending into the central Mediterranean ('*Greeks leaving Greece*' at Pithekoussai as coined by Papadopoulos), showing that cultural influence is fluidic as well as experimental.[38] These regions and case studies are selected based on two criteria: the scope of archaeological records available for burials, and islands with viable network links to areas covered in Central Greece. Burials on the islands of Andros and Tenos, significant centres during the Early Iron Age, are omitted due to the limited data and quantity of burial sites. The areas included in this thesis do have sufficient records to permit analytical study of each sub-region or are included due to close proximity to major regions/settlements

[38] Papadopoulos 2015:180.

(such as the burial on Skiathos, which has limited data but is geographically close to both Euboea and Magnesia).

However, determining the historical aspects of this phenomenon and the extent to which the Euboeans themselves transported these products poses a challenge.[39] The establishment of Euboea as the centre of this *Koine* may be a result of a fragmented and often conflicting historical tradition that identifies Euboeans[40] as the primary Greek settlers, whether establishing formal colonies (Cumae) or trading posts (Pithekoussai) throughout the Aegean and Central Mediterranean (covered in *Chapter 7*).[41] However, this assertion is yet to be definitively established, with scholars such as Papadopoulos, Leone, and Richey-Lowe challenging this notion, pointing to the Northern Aegean as important centres also.[42] The overall scholarly consensus on this matter is still moot, but Euboea is usually identified as the *de facto* centre.[43]

Recent studies, supported by provenance research, also confirm this. Through extensive sampling and neutron activation analysis, it has been confirmed that clay deposits from the Lelantine Plain (from Phylla and Vasiliko near Lefkandi) played a pivotal role in a widespread clay and pottery production industry spanning from the Bronze Age to the present day. This signature, identified as the Euripos Group, is characterized by distinct chemical signatures found in pottery from central Euboea and nearby locations, both within the island and in areas where PSC pottery is discovered, although no actual production centre has been archaeologically located, with kilns and

[39] D'Onofrio 2017:28.
[40] It is important to clarify that Euboea did not function as a distinct socio-political entity; instead, it was made up of various autonomous settlements. The term 'Euboean' is a collective term, and any reference to Euboea or Euboean should be caveated to show that these activities were carried out by either individual or joint settlements rather than the entire island; Lombardo 2012:77.
[41] Whether these settlements were colonies or trading posts (*Emporion*) is to be discussed further in the introduction to Chapter 7.
[42] Papadopoulos 2005; Leone 2012; Richey-Lowe 2021.
[43] Vlachou 2015, Knodell 2021.

known workshops scarce.[44] This, at least, highlights Euboea's role in pottery production, although caution must be exerted as other known EIA pottery production centres are found in the Thermaic Gulf where Euboean imports are sometimes confused for local imitations.[45]

Acknowledging the fluidic nature of cultural boundaries and the problematic nature of geographical divisions, the thesis adopts modern regional boundaries for analytical purposes. Recognising these constraints, the study traces interactions and exchanges between regions, challenging or confirming regional influences on burial practices during the Early Iron Age. The categorization of the "Euboean *Koine*" holds significant analytical importance, offering valuable insights into the cultural, economic, and social dynamics of the Early Iron Age in the Aegean region. This classification denotes a shared ceramic style and an element of shared cultural unity across diverse geographical areas, indicating extensive trade and interaction networks. The distribution of specific pottery styles also aids in constructing regional chronological sequences. Moreover, the adoption of shared cultural artifacts and ceramic ware shows the extent of economic and cultural exchange and influence. Cataloguing burials with varied grave goods for this period also shows, the exchange of valuable commodities fostered an economy accessible to a broader spectrum of society beyond just the elite. Additionally, the notion of the *Koine* sparks debates within academia, fostering a continual process of refinement and re-evaluation of established perspectives on the interconnectedness of the regions that make up Central Greece.[46]

[44] Knodell 2021:178-9.
[45] Kotsonas 2015.
[46] Papadopoulos 2015; 1998; 2011.

Overall, the areas covered include both (proto)Polis (Athens, Boeotia, Euboea) regions and those with tribal/kin or *ethne* distinctions (such as Phokis, Phthiotis, Magnesia), offering the opportunity to explore whether these are reflected in burial customs or not.[47] Examining the geographical areas from this perspective brings together elements that unite rather than separate them, offering a valuable understanding of Early Iron Age burial cultures in Central Greece. However, it is vital to acknowledge the problematic nature of certain geographical divisions. While the thesis is structured based on modern regional boundaries and even later political divisions, it is essential to recognize their superficial nature as cultural boundaries are fluidic. Despite this constraint for analytical purposes, a comparative analysis allows tracing interactions and exchanges between regions, challenging or confirming regional influence. The Early Iron Age's significant timespan suggests the potential evolution of burial practices within each region. Regional analyses in Chapters 2 – 6, & 7, chart chronological variations locally and, in Chapter 8, overall. Archaeological bias, with uneven excavation distribution, requires acknowledgment, as some areas may have been more extensively excavated than others (such as Athens, Euboea, Pithekoussai), leading to an uneven distribution of archaeological data skewed in favour of these areas. Recognizing these constraints is crucial. Interconnectedness between regions is vital for accurate analysis, considering economic and trade networks that may have facilitated the exchange of ideas and burial practices. Isolating burial cultures may overlook network impacts on cultural practices, and shared elements between regions may result from political, religious, or social connections. Chapters 2-7 present data and regional trends, with limitations receiving detailed attention in Chapters 8-10.

[47] Morgan 2003.

1.4 Research question

Since the original publication of Snodgrass's "Dark Age of Greece" in 1971, the field of Early Iron Age Greek Archaeology has significantly broadened its scope of study, incorporating various facets of material culture. Despite this expansion, there has been a notable gap in systematically studying the archaeology of burial practices for Central Greece. This gap presents an opportunity to evaluate funerary uniformity and establish connections to a broader framework of socio-religious development. Specifically, the study aims to explore how burial practices and material culture of Early Iron Age communities in Central Greece reflect and inform our understanding of socio-ritual identity, contemporary eschatological beliefs, and the dynamics of collective identity, considering both the symbolic and functional aspects of ritual and the role of wealth levels in shaping identity, social change, and hierarchical power dynamics.

While individual attempts have been made on different cemeteries or in short articles to examine overarching trends,[48] there is a significant absence of a comprehensive study that develops the theme through a comparative framework across multiple regions. Despite the diversity of topics covered, ranging from architecture and ritual to mortuary trends from a cliodynamics perspective, as highlighted by the authors cited in *Section 1.1*, and in locations with extensive archaeological records such as Argos, Mycenae, Lefkandi, Athens, and Attica, there has been insufficient exploration of burial trends beyond these areas. Generalizations, like Cartledge's statement that pithoi burials in Thebes during the Early Iron Age were

[48] Papadopoulou 2017al.

the most popular form of burial, have been made without adequate scrutiny of the available data.[49] Historically, the most analytical examination of burial trends was Morris's work in 1987.[50] However, this exploration, while adequate when published, has limitations. The conclusion linking formal burial with state formation lacks robustness due to a small data sample (not using fully excavated burial plots), a concentration on Attica rather than wider Greece, and an extension beyond the Early Iron Age into the Archaic and Early Classical periods.

The primary aim of my research is to conduct a comprehensive investigation into the burial practices and material culture of the Early Iron Age communities in Central Greece around the Euboean Gulf. Rooted in an archaeological framework that incorporates symbolic and functionary perspectives, my thesis seeks to unravel the social meanings embedded in burial practices and explore how symbolic elements convey identity, status, and belief systems during this historical period, whilst considering practical considerations. To achieve this overarching aim, the thesis encompasses specific objectives: **Regional Variation in Burial Practices:** Explore and analyse variations in burial practices across different regions in Central Greece during the Early Iron Age, with a focal point on regions linked around the Euboean Gulf (see *Chapters 2 – 6, 8*). Further case studies will include connected Cycladic and Central Mediterranean Islands linked to this region (see *Chapter 7*), identifying commonalities and differences to provide insights into regional socio-cultural distinctions. These chapters categorises trends in burial type and architecture with the crucial aspect being that they are related, but that the fragmentary archaeological record means that only some candidates can be meaningfully discussed. **Role of**

[49] Cartledge 2020: 65.
[50] Morris 1987.

Grave Goods as Status Indicators: Investigate the significance of grave goods as status indicators and ritual paraphernalia in Early Iron Age burial contexts in line with contemporary burial contexts. This examines the interpretation of grave goods in relation to gender and wealth, contributing to a nuanced understanding of contemporary social hierarchies (*Chapter 9*). This chapter draws on gender archaeology and peer emulation and post-processual archaeological processes. **Ritual Observances and Cultural Practices:** Explore the role of burial practices such as *prothesis* and *ekphora* in shaping ritual observances and cultural practices (*Chapter 9*). Assess how these practices contribute to the overall character of Early Iron Age society in Central Greece. This integrates post-processual archaeology and critical archaeology. **Feasting Practices within Burial Contexts:** Examine feasting practices within the context of contemporary burials and their significance in understanding social and ritual aspects of Early Iron Age communities. Explore the role of mnemonic feasting in older tombs and its impact on burial traditions (*Chapter 9*). This integrates perspectives from symbolic and interpretive archaeology. **Mortuary Data, correlated with Material Culture and Contemporary Art:** Utilise mortuary data to evaluate evidence related to ritual practices, considering both functional and symbolic perspectives (*Chapter 9*). Investigate the placement of contemporary ritual practices within a framework that confirms unanimity or fragmentation in the treatment of the dead. This draws on post-processual archaeology, near-contemporary textual sources, and post-EIA religious practices/beliefs and archaeology of religion. Correlate burial data with material culture, including contemporary depictions of the funeral process in Greek art. Examine burial contexts in relation to near-contemporary textual evidence, providing a comprehensive view of funerary rituals (*Chapter 9*). This integrates perspectives from symbolic and functionary archaeology. **Impact of Burial**

Practices on Societal Development: Assess how burial data reacts to centralisation and use it as a tool to chart political, economic, and social power in larger centres (Chapter 8). Explore how burial customs and grave items may have evolved in response to societal changes, contributing to the development of regions as social entities (*Chapter 8, 9, 10*). This integrates critical archaeology and elements of social identity theory. **Polis Development and Societal Changes:** Investigate the role of burial practices in reflecting the development of polis centres in the Late Geometric and Early Archaic periods. Examine how social organisation and hierarchy changed as political authority consolidated, and social status became more connected to political power (*Chapter 8, 9,10*). This draws on post-processual archaeology and critical archaeology.

Upon completion, the research aims to provide a comparative view of funerary rituals throughout central Greece, highlighting variations and trends. The communication of research findings will extend beyond the archaeological community to reach a wider audience, emphasising the sociological implications. It deepens our historical understanding of Early Iron Age communities in Central Greece, providing nuanced insights into their burial practices, material culture, and socio-ritual identities. Moreover, it sheds light on broader patterns of societal dynamics and transformation, highlighting the interconnectedness or fragmentation of materiality and belief systems. This holistic and qualitative approach provided by this thesis contributes to a more comprehensive understanding of the socio-cultural structure of Early Iron Age, making valuable contributions to anthropological and sociological discourse. Additionally, the research's regional focus and comparative approach contribute to broader regional studies, situating Central Greece within a cultural and chronological context.

1.5 Sources and Methods

Given the nature of this study, my principal methodology has been the dissection of excavation reports and surveys of the archaeological material extracted from these reports by specialists in the field. Murray states that for a study of Early Greece that there are four approaches: I) The archaeological; II) The Homeric; III) The comparative; IV) The genetic.[51] Whilst the bulk of the data presented are from archaeological surveys (see *Section 1.5.1*), this method is not wholly sufficient for interpreting the period but has to be combined with the other three categories where possible. The process of interpreting material culture depends on tradition, social relations, and context, and is usually simpler than spoken or written language, according to Tilley.[52] Modern theoretical archaeology goes beyond material remains in its interpretation. Following this approach I will also use near-contemporary textual evidence, principally the Homeric Poems, as supporting evidence for data extrapolated from the archaeological context (see *Section 1.5.2*). Later textual sources and secondary scholarship will also be considered as a means of the contextualising the archaeological evidence for the period, utilising comparative examples (where available) from different chronological periods, as well as scientific data extrapolated through any available genetic studies, and isotopic analysis on diet (although limited studies have been done focusing on the EIA). Such studies usually focus on population dynamics, and migration patterns to assess kinship patterns (as per Murray's *genos* approach). Using such supporting evidence, the archaeological evidence can be evaluated using a dual methodology of symbolism and functionalism in the interpretation.

[51] Murray 1983: 165-166; Rathje 1999: 279.
[52] Pakkanen 1999: 203; Tilley 1991: 95.

1.5.1 Archaeological sources

When Ian Morris was working on his dissertation about burial customs in the Greek Iron Age, he attempted to convey the essence of his research to a neighbour who specialized in modern history. As Morris explained the focus of his study, his neighbour appeared perplexed and asked: *"…what a lot of graves had got to do with history".*[53] This question is at the centre of the research question of my thesis, the majority of the archaeological evidence for the Early Iron Age in Greece comes from burial contexts. This is because the evidence from settlements and sanctuaries differs significantly in scale compared to burial sites and cemeteries. The contrast is illustrated best in Athens (see *Chapter 2*), where there is evidence for 38 small contemporary settlement sites, 13 contemporary sanctuary sites, and 110 contemporary burial sites (including numerous burials in organized cemeteries such as the Kerameikos and areas around the *Agora*). Regarding settlement archaeology, apart from those sites which have been systematically excavated, from the 1950s, archaeologists often undertook exploration through systematic surveys, which aimed to recover all surface remains of past human activity through field walking in a defined territory. Dickinson quite rightly states that surveys cannot replace excavations, and often the analysis of surveys has needed to be re-interpreted considering new discoveries, new archaeological techniques, or new trends in data analysis.[54] Therefore the evidence for settlements, although important at a small number of sites, is not as compelling in comparison to that of the burial data.

[53] Morris 1992:xiii; Fahlander & Oestigaard 2008:6
[54] Dickinson 2019: 43.

To achieve the objectives outlined in *Section 1.4* this thesis has utilised the excavation reports of cemetery sites and other grave contexts, archaeological surveys, catalogues of architectural structures & monuments, the inventory of finds from EIA sites, and modern scholarship. This will highlight data such as the classification of burials, description of grave goods, both those within the grave context and external to this setting, spatial patterning in terms of burial sites, and will also look at associated finds from above the grave itself to indicate post burial signs of religious rites placing these into an intellectual framework supported by other evidence from across different burial sites.

The main reason for focusing on burial practices is their nature as public and communal rituals. These practices not only reflect elements of the deceased's social identity but also serve as enactments of the social relationships among the living. Consequently, burial practices are closely tied to social organization, relationships, identity, and culture. Examining how these practices were conducted has the potential to reveal insights into how people structured and comprehended the societies they inhabited. When it comes to the methodology for approaching the data, this will be carried out by evaluating burial contexts from both a functionalist and symbolic viewpoint. Practical considerations must be balanced with symbolic or even eschatological viewpoints. Functionalist interpretation will examine how wealth levels influenced the use of funerary practices, grave goods, and burial architecture. Meanwhile, a symbolic analysis of these aspects ties in the practices with more eschatological considerations, drawing examples from cultural traditions in near-contemporary literature (refer to *Section 1.5.2*) or funerary beliefs from later periods. Symbolic considerations also consider the ceremonial element of burials, as often funerary customs involve rituals and ceremonies that leave archaeological traces.

These traces can reveal information about community cohesion, religious beliefs, and social roles within a society. A functionalist approach to funerary material in this context will focus on the practical aspects of the items buried with individuals, emphasizing their practical purposes or functional roles in the burial ritual. In contrast, a symbolic approach would emphasize the symbolic meanings attached to these items, considering them as expressions of cultural values, status, or identity.

Culture historians view specific burial practices as distinctive features of different peoples or cultures, aiming to map cultures and trace their spread by examining evidence of common practices.[55] In contrast, processualist archaeologists were particularly intrigued by burial practices as a means to identify social hierarchies, analysing the costs associated with grave construction and the richness of grave goods[56] to measure social complexity.[57] Post-processualists and those influenced by their ideas, while not following a unified approach[58], are more interested in burials as expressions of social identity, especially power dynamics within an ideological context.[59] By employing a dual approach of functionalist vs. symbolic interpretation of burial contexts, a largely post-processualist approach can be utilized, along with considerations of the practices of cultural historians and processualists. The "functionalist" vs. "symbolic" approach helps distinguish between pragmatic and symbolic interpretations of funerary material, and the theoretical underpinning involves drawing on relevant theoretical frameworks to interpret wealth, perceived gender identity, and other social hierarchies inferred from burial artifacts.

[55] Chapman and Randsborg 1981:4; Hall 1997:26; Bulmer 2016:11-12.
[56] Tainter 1977; Wells 1990:128. Bulmer 2016:11-12.
[57] Chapman and Randsborg 1981:7; O'Shea 1984:4; Dabney and Wright 1990. Bulmer 2016:11-12.
[58] Shanks and Hodder 1995:5; Johnson 2010:105. Bulmer 2016:11-12.
[59] Shennan 1982; Jones 2008:226; Chapman 2013:53; Fowler 2013:514; Stutz and Tarlow 2013:8. Bulmer 2016:11-12.

Building on this, the theoretical underpinning of the interpretation of funerary goods involves addressing questions such as, how is wealth determined, and how are constructions of gender identity inferred from artifacts during the Early Iron Age in Central Greece? Wealth determination in burials may be informed by a contextual study of the distribution of high-value artifacts, such as fineware ceramics, gold/iron/bronze objects, as well as other objects of high prestige like imported items, heirlooms, or weapons. The correlation of such valuable items often denotes an elite burial given their relative obscurity in the archaeological record otherwise. The distribution of such items also allows us to understand socio-economic stratification and disparities within Early Iron Age society, as well as social hierarchies conforming to ideas of competition and peer emulation. Gender identity construction and 'Cognitive Archaeology' incorporate various theoretical frameworks, including feminist perspectives linked to post-processual approaches. For burials sexed through scientific methods (such as osteological analysis) this includes an analysis of the correlation of funerary goods, with implications regarding social status and gender roles tied into social expectations, and expressions of identity through burial practices.

1.5.2 Textual sources

Social commentary is drawn from near-contemporary or later literary sources that may be relevant to the period. Homer and Hesiod can be considered near contemporaries, with Hesiod dating to the Late Geometric / Early Archaic period, however, dating the Homeric poems is more problematic. Whilst the orality of the stories perpetuated in the Iliad and the Odyssey were certainly popular during this period, especially after 750 (see *Section 7.1* – with Nestor's Cup), their composition,

codification and standardisation into whole pieces of written narrative (into the final form known today) likely took place over the subsequent periods of the Archaic, Classical, and even Hellenistic period following Nagy's *'Five Ages of Homer'*.[60] However, it must also be noted that elements of the poem certainly relate to different chronological periods stemming from the Late Bronze Age (given the transmission additions that occurred during its popularity as an oral tradition).[61] Therefore, it may be possible to analyse both Hesiod's and Homer's depiction of funeral rights and the concept of an afterlife to look for the materiality of belief structure (where applicable) in the archaeological context. Whilst the poems are helpful in this manner, caution must be employed when using them to authenticate cultural practices, as this can bias interpretations, with much outdated scholarship having looked to validate the *epic* (or Homeric) model as the culture of the EIA.[62] Traditionally, scholarship of the 19th and 20th centuries was dominated by Homeric interpretations, but such scholarship must be critiqued thoroughly before being applied to any model suggested by the archaeological evidence. Links to Heroic examples must be used sparingly, with archaeology taking precedence over any cultural interpretation for the period.

Classists relying on text-based analysis such as Finley, Raaflaab, and Burgess tend to find any conclusion based on archaeological analysis unconvincing, stating that they do not care to put forward explicit arguments to the effect that regional diversity in material culture must be consistent with pan-Aegean uniformity in EIA society (though the notion of Homeric society rests on precisely this assumption).[63] However, Homeric and especially Hesiodic ideas can be used, along with later

[60] Snodgrass 2006: 173; Nagy 1996: 42.
[61] Sherratt 1990: 817.
[62] Finley 1954 [republished in 2002]. See also n. 5 & 6.
[63] Whitley 2019: 175; Raaflaub 1998: 174, nn.24, 25; Burgess 2001: 50.

writings, to explore more metaphysical and eschatological concepts (*Chapter 9*). The written sources that reflect this period can still be classified as traditional in that later sources from the Archaic and Classical periods commemorated events in the past, such as the Trojan War, or accounts of the foundation of colonies and early history of the later city-states such as at Sparta.[64] Such sources may contain some historical memories, but the archaeology of the period must always take precedence. Events such as the Trojan War, Dorian Invasion, or Lelantine War have a basis in tradition, but they should not be used as a framework for the 'Early History of Greece' without further archaeological evidence.[65]

1.6 Limits of mortuary archaeology and ritualistic actions

Within the archaeological context, a burial denotes a tangible event. Therefore, the events that make up the funerary and post-funerary social demarcation should be evaluated as a single sociological episode, reflecting a frozen tableau of an interrupted process.[66] Interrupted in the sense that Archaeologists must remember that excavated burial styles are merely a 'snapshot' that may indicate an intermediate point in the funerary process rather than a conclusion.[67] Burials mark the end of life for an individual. The rituals and grave goods used to honour the deceased are part of the process. The burial itself is a static moment in a community and reflects current styles in terms of grave goods and type of burial, with the presentation of the burial done by the living.

[64] Dickinson 2019: 33-34.
[65] Snodgrass 2006: 72-75.
[66] Beeby 2013: 1.
[67] Hutchinson & Aragon 2002: 27.

Mortuary behaviour is a process laden with social significance, with a nuanced reading of its meaning impossible if the individual stages of the process that shaped the archaeological context are not recognised. The sequence of acts that comprise this mortuary behaviour can be complex, comprising several layers of ritual action or observance. From an archaeological perspective, the multi-faceted development and sequence of human activities that form the burial has been condensed into a single quantifiably archaeological context.[68] The events leading up to the deposition, the funeral, and the post-funeral activities, ranging up to discovery, exist in a temporal vacuum.[69] This process is not a homogeneous activity but a combination of actions and events that has its own linear spacing and development, with many actions coinciding. It is possible to evaluate the factual elements of the funeral, such as the form of burial and the range of offerings. Once this is done, it will be possible to place them in an interpretive framework looking at ritualistic aspects such as the function of grave goods, the evidence for peri and post-funerary feasting and the importance of libations in the cultural personality of funerary rites. Events can be evaluated through points of interaction, from an individual perspective to a collective event that ties into the social phenomena of peer interaction and emulation.

A note of caution again must be exercised when using the term ritual in the context of interpreting grave goods, as the term is loaded, and its definition can be applied to both the secular and civic world as well as the religious, as concepts become more broadly defined (*Chapter 9*). The term traditionally was seen as a barrier to scholarship and has been used to denote acts conceived as prescribed, stylised, or stereotypical, but this is no longer true.[70] From this limited definition, one can observe

[68] Schiffer 1972: 157.
[69] Beeby 2013: 1.
[70] Kyriakidis 2007: 1; Vivelo 1978, as cited in Morgan and Brask 1988: 1770.

a general progression towards examining ritual acts concerning the social constructs and materialism of the context in which they are performed. Within the scope of this thesis, the different sociological facets of the term ritual will be explored.

1.7 Defining Primary and Secondary Cremation, an important distinction.

Primary and secondary cremation burials were practised in the EIA. It is essential to understand the distinctions between these two cremation methods, as this thesis distinguishes them in the terminology. Primary cremation is in-situ incineration, burying the deceased at the same plot used for the cremation pyre, usually in a simple pit. The evidence for primary cremation graves comes from the remains of ash and bone fragments, with an unorganised amount found (either residual or deliberately insignificant) and evidence of the burning itself, such as charcoal. The treatment of ash and bone fragments may vary across burial plots, cemeteries, or settlements, and this will be illustrated in the thesis where sufficient evidence exists. In addition, objects that may have been placed on the funerary pyre, which are now burnt and found inside burial contexts, are sporadically discovered.

Secondary Cremations are burials where the incinerated skeletal remains are deposited in a different context from the pyre following the burning and collection of human remains. The cremation ashes are placed inside a vessel, usually ceramic, sometimes metal, and then buried in a shallow pit or trench.[71] This distinction holds significance when examining cremation burials within the studied regions, as they can unveil crucial societal insights, such as which body parts hold greater significance in symbolising the individual or which individuals are granted the privilege of being

[71] Similar to contemporary practices found within the urnfield culture in contemporary and near-contemporary Central European culture.

transitioned from the funeral pyre to the grave.[72] Across numerous archaeological contexts, specific body elements were esteemed and deemed more vital in representing the individual during the transition from the pyre to the grave, as discussed in Sørensen's work in 2014.[73]

These burials will be referenced as 'secondary cremations' as the actual cremation was done away from the burial context. The terminology can be misleading, with 'secondary cremation' suggesting that the body was previously interred in a burial context and subsequently cremated later, which is not the case, as this would be classed more so as a secondary ritual rite. The term 'secondary burial' is probably more suitable; however, secondary cremation has become the standard terminology and will be referenced as such. The use of these terms is problematic, but as most reported instances of primary and secondary follow this terminology as it is a forensic definition relating to the skeletal remains, I will also adhere to this terminology.[74] Evidence for both cremation methods was found throughout the area examined (see *Sections 8.9, 9.6*) in significant numbers, and a distinction will be made using this terminology.[75]

1.8 Structure of the Thesis

Including the above introductory notes, this work is organised into several parts. This introduction deals with the conceptual framework of the thesis, giving relevant background information and setting out its aims, objectives, methodology, and relevance to the study of proto-historical Greek history. Further to the information

[72] Kontonicolas 2018: 20.
[73] Sørensen 2014.
[74] See Sprague 2005: 57-70 for alternative terms.
[75] Papadopoulos *et al.* 2017: 577, 586.

supplied in section 1.4, the first part of the thesis will outline the mortuary trends of the regions that make up the areas around the Euboean Gulf. For the chapters concerning Athens and Euboea (*Chapters 2 & 3*), given the number of publications related to these regions, an overall trend can be outlined from the settlements applicable to the geographical considerations of the research question. However, for less examined regions such as Boeotia, Magnesia (Thessaly), Phthiotis, and Phokis, as well as network-connected areas like Ischia, Naxos, Skiathos, Skyros and Paros, a gazetteer of sites will be provided (*Chapters 4 – 7*). Chapters 8 the thesis will analyse burial types and contexts for evidence of ritual events, both funerary and post-funerary, such as ritual feasting or ancestor veneration. Once this has been outlined and critiqued, the visual arts will examine Late Geometric vessels, their depiction of mourners and burials, and how what is depicted is relevant to the social dynamics of the period. After this, consideration of the textual evidence to measure the accuracy of Homeric burials' depictions against the period's archaeology, highlighting similarities and differences, will be given. Chapter 8 looks at tomb typology correlating chronology and regions identifying trends, whilst Chapter 9 condenses the ritual elements of burials with broader socio-religious observations.

CHAPTER 2 - ATHENIAN BURIALS DURING THE EARLY IRON AGE

2.1 Introduction

The study of burials in central Athens during the EIA has been a culmination of different excavations conducted at separate times, examining different clusters of grave groups scattered around the modern city, with the current total of burial sites numbering more than 110 over 19 districts.[76] The techniques employed by various research teams throughout the 20th and 21st centuries used methods that reflected the progression of modern archaeological techniques in the field at that time. The amount of data is extensive and includes different types of publications:

- Excavation reports from various International Institutes at Athens; See Volumes VIII and XXXVI from the American School of Classical Studies at Athens outlining the evidence for the Geometric period from the *Agora, as well as* the German Archaeological Institute who directed the Kerameikos excavations – see Ker.I and Ker.VI for the relevant reports for the period.[77]
- Data published as academic textbooks and conference proceedings;[78]
- Online catalogues such as the Aristeia Project and The Mycenaean Atlas Project;[79]
- Journal articles in Hesperia, Annual of British School of Athens, Antiquity and Journal of Hellenic Studies etc.

[76] This number is pulled from a search on *The Aristeia project,* although this number varies in different publications given the different classifications of graves by different authors.
[77] Kübler 1939; Kübler 1943; Kübler & Kraiker 1954.
[78] Dimitriadou 2019; Mazarakis-Ainian 1997.
[79] Mazarakis-Ainian (ed.) 2017a; Consoli (ed.) 2017.

- *PhD* Theses;[80]
- Reports conducted by the Greek government (compiled in publications such as ArchDelt, Ergon, and PAE).

Whilst not exhaustive, this list demonstrates that Athens has been systematically analysed more than any other *Polis* in Greece (although this is not to discredit all the research undertaken on Mycenae). Using the data collected, any study for this period would benefit from using the burial data as a tool for comparison. This chapter will concentrate on summarising mortuary practises, confirming the prevalent burial trends, as the amount of excavation history and a summary of the data is too extensive to showcase in a single doctoral thesis chapter.

2.2 Protogeometric and Geometric Burial Trends in Athens

Cremation burials held prominence in Athens throughout the PG period. The emergence of individual cremation burials was a conscious expression of individualism. This shift from communal cohesion to dispersed settlements potentially negated the requirement for multiple burials. This transformation could have arisen as a response to the divergent collectivity and identity sublimation observed during the LBA.[81] During this period, the main cemeteries for burial are found at the Kerameikos and Vasilissis Sophia, with smaller clusters around the Agora, Acropolis, near Mouseion, and Nea Ionia outside the centre of Athens.[82] Cremation ashes, personal items, and burnt vase fragments were placed in ceramic vessels. This practice mirrors the Urnfield Culture's rite from the LBA and the Hallstatt Group's practice from the Iron

[80] Cavanagh 1977; Vizyinou 2010; van den Eijnde 2010; Laughy 2010.
[81] Peters 2009: 11.
[82] Lemos 2002: 152.

Age in central and northern Europe.[83] However, further evidence is required to establish this connection. In the Kerameikos especially, the vessel was placed in a hole inside a rectangular shaft grave, with the hole's location varying either towards the end or the middle of the grave; this is commonly referred to as a 'trench and hole' burial.[84] The vessel was usually covered by a slab of stone, another vase or a large ceramic sherd, although there are instances of other objects being used, such as shield bosses or bronze bowls.

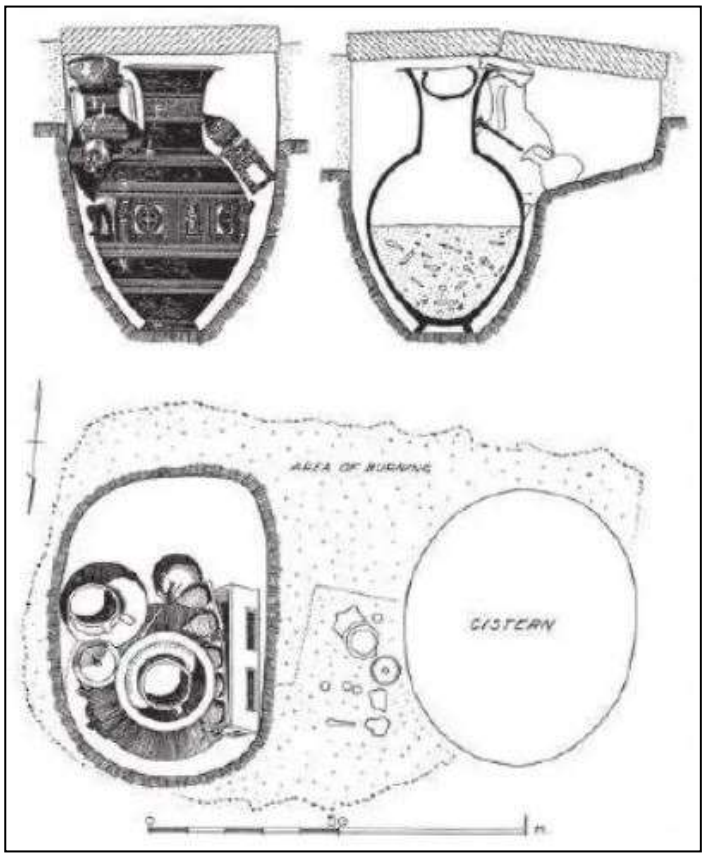


Figure 3: Typical 'Trench and Hole' Cremation Burial in Athens[85]

Shield bosses were also used as lids in PG24 & PG43 (determined from traces of leather), and a bronze bowl was used in grave PG48.[86] While cremation is the

[83] Falkenstein 2011; Foltiny 1961.
[84] Papadopoulos & Smithson 2017: 621-632.
[85] Vlachou 2012: 374.
[86] Kübler 1943: 27; Lemos 2002: 152; Strack 2007: 181.

primary burial method, there are some instances of inhumation in pit graves (mainly from the SM period) and cist graves, but these are not as common. Trench and Hole cremations (Fig. 3) in Athens are regarded as secondary cremations, as the actual cremation took place elsewhere (it is assumed on a pyre close to the trench, although

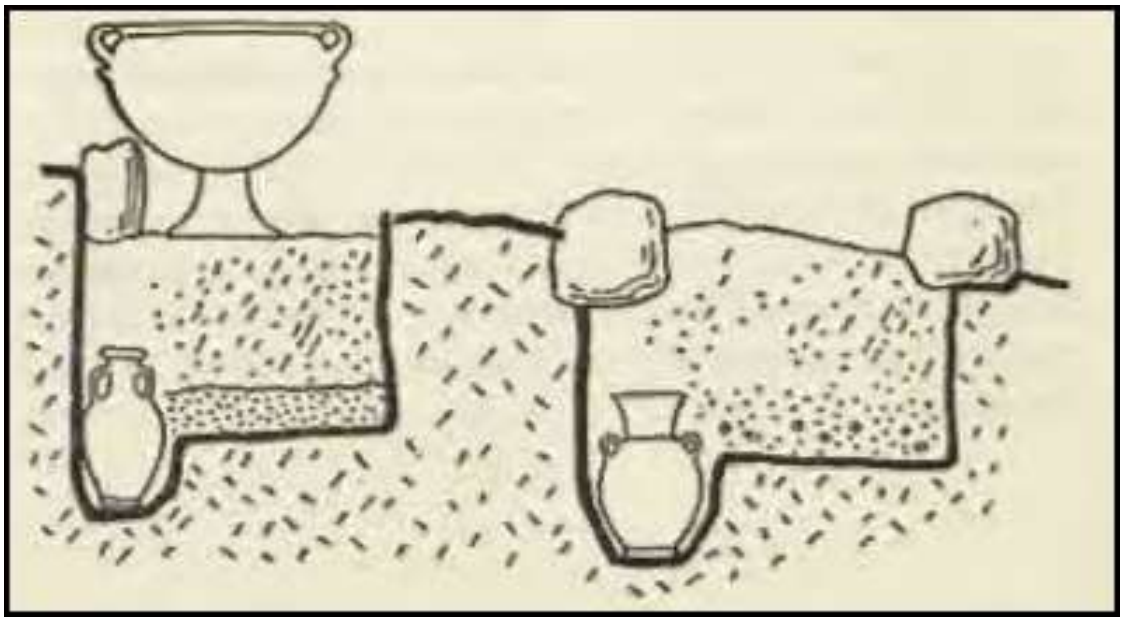


Figure 4: Kerameikos cremation graves with an ash vessel, marking stones and a vase in position [87]

locations have not been sufficiently identified). There may be a parallel between mixed cremation and inhumation burials in SPG Lefkandi. The cremation rite possibly involved the subsequent burial of a token collection of bones as speculated at Lefkandi, and the funeral goods in this burial were laid out as if placed on a complete skeleton (see *Section 3.2*).[88] In the case of the Kerameikos cemetery, the graves were also filled with the remains from the funeral pyre (the German excavators termed them *Brandschuttung* meaning fire-debris or sweepings), which included the debris of

[87] Kurtz and Boardman 1971: 51 after *Ker.V.I, Beil, 3.1 and see 214f. (no.7), 233f. (no.37).*
[88] Themelis 1979: 211-214, cf. Lemos 2002: 162.

animal bones (assumedly from a funerary feast) as well as remnants of offerings of bronze and iron items, and ceramic vessels (Fig. 4).

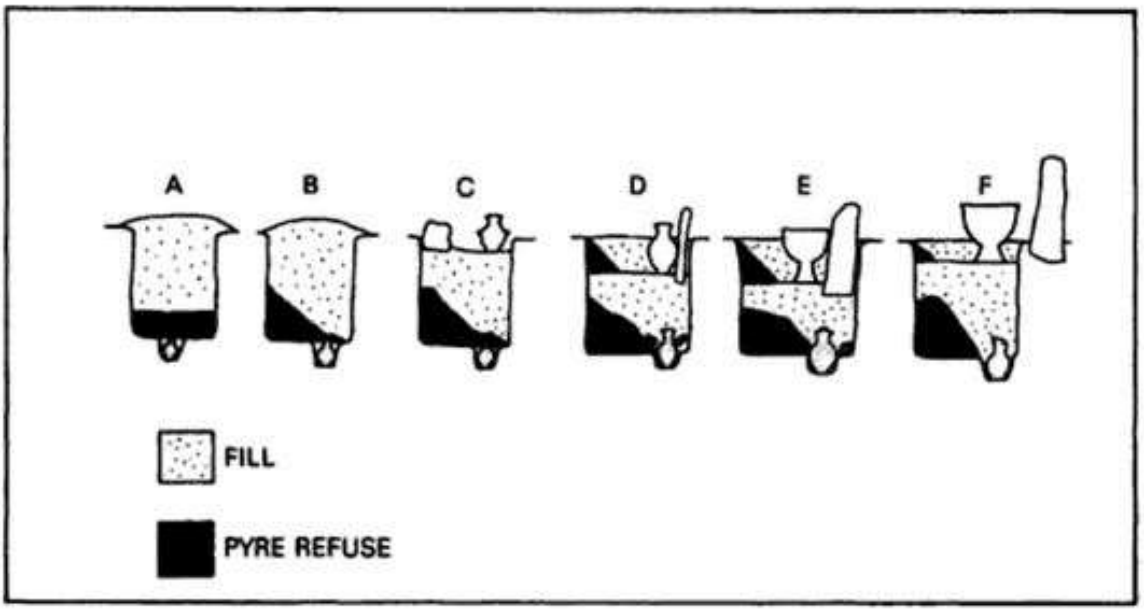


Figure 5: The Development throughout time of normative forms of trench and hole cremations at Athens. A. EPG; B. MPG- LPG; C. LPG- EG; D-F. EG-MG Forms[89]

Once everything was in the trench, the pit was filled with a small mound of earth. After the 10th century, this mound was replaced by stone slabs. An example of this can be found on the surface of grave PG38, a limestone block which may have acted as a *sema* (found opposite the amphora that acted as the grave marker).[90] Large kraters (placed just under ground level) were directly aligned with the funerary vessel and are the embryonic form of the later oversized Kraters found during the MG period (See Fig. 4 & 5). This phenomenon only occurs in two burials in the Kerameikos (PG37 & PG38) and ids paralleled at Nea Ionia (Pyre A) during the PG period.[91]

[89] Morris 1987: 20.
[90] Lemos 2002: 152.
[91] Kübler 1943: 38-39; Knigge 1991: 18; Lemos 2002: 152, 156.

The earliest graves are to be found in the Kerameikos in the area around the *Pompeion*, north of the River *Eridanos*. However, the overall concentration of graves for this period is to be found in the cemetery south of the river and only contained adult burials, in contrast to the smaller cluster of graves around the Agora, which contained both children (usually inhumed) and adults (cremation burials). Lemos further highlights that both children and adults were buried together in the burial plots of Kolonos Agoraios and Erechtheon Street and were probably part of the same kin group.[92] Only in the burials south of the Acropolis is there a variation in funerary practices, with children found in cremation burials and a single adult inhumed (burial T15:1).[93]

Leading into the EG period, the practice of cremation continued, with some minor differences made to the mortuary architecture, such as the depth that the vessel was sunk into its hole within the trench with only the lower bottom of the vessel fitted in the shaft hole (Fig. 5).[94] While burials continue in the Kerameikos, other cemeteries in central Athens continue to be utilised, such as the Agora (with expansion in this context measured in terms of the number of burials and not necessarily on the amount of land used). Whitley states that wherever graves are encountered outside the Kerameikos (not including those on the Kolonos Agoraios), these clusters are not so much considered to be a cemetery but a geographical expression of population. Whitley classifies these burials into three types, large, medium, and isolated, with only the Kerameikos (both south and north of the River *Eridanos*) falling into the first two

[92] Lemos 2002: 152, 155.
[93] Ibid., 152-3.
[94] Krause 1975: 87-93.

categories.[95] Despite this distinction, the burial in the Agora should fall into the category of an organised cemetery, given the number of burial contexts excavated.

From the EG period, a shift can be seen in who receives formal, or at least archaeologically visible burials, with burials of children rarely found in the archaeological record.[96] This may be due to the social construct of the time, or their graves have not yet been discovered or were destroyed. Adult burials with sparse burial goods disappear altogether, with Krause stating all undisturbed ninth-century graves containing 'some' offerings.[97] This is juxtaposed with the visibility of graves with rich offerings, typically the wealthiest of the Geometric period. Regarding male burials during this period, there is a rise in weapons found in burial contexts (select examples include Agora burials D16:4 & N16:4, and Kerameikos burials G23 & G38). Burials typically identified as female burials usually contain the most ostentatious burial goods (see Agora burials D16:2 & H16:6, and Kerameikos burial G41). Large vessels are used more frequently as grave markers, usually amphorae for females and kraters for Men.[98] Scholars such as Morris argue that the extraordinary size of these vessels eliminates the possibility of a previous domestic function.[99] Nevertheless, a definitive conclusion cannot be reached, as these vessels might have been employed prior to burial within the individual's life cycle. Their presence in the burial could signify a receptacle for remains and serve as a burial marker. Alternatively, these funerary utensils could represent symbolic offerings from

[95] Whitley 2003: 103.
[96] Burr 1933: 552-554; Smithson 1974: 372; Morris 1987: 61-62, 218-219, Figs. 16, 21; Whitley 2003: 116; Coldstream 2003: 30.
[97] Krause 1975: 86.
[98] Knigge 1991: 18.
[99] Whitley 2003: 116-117; Morris 1987: 58-62.

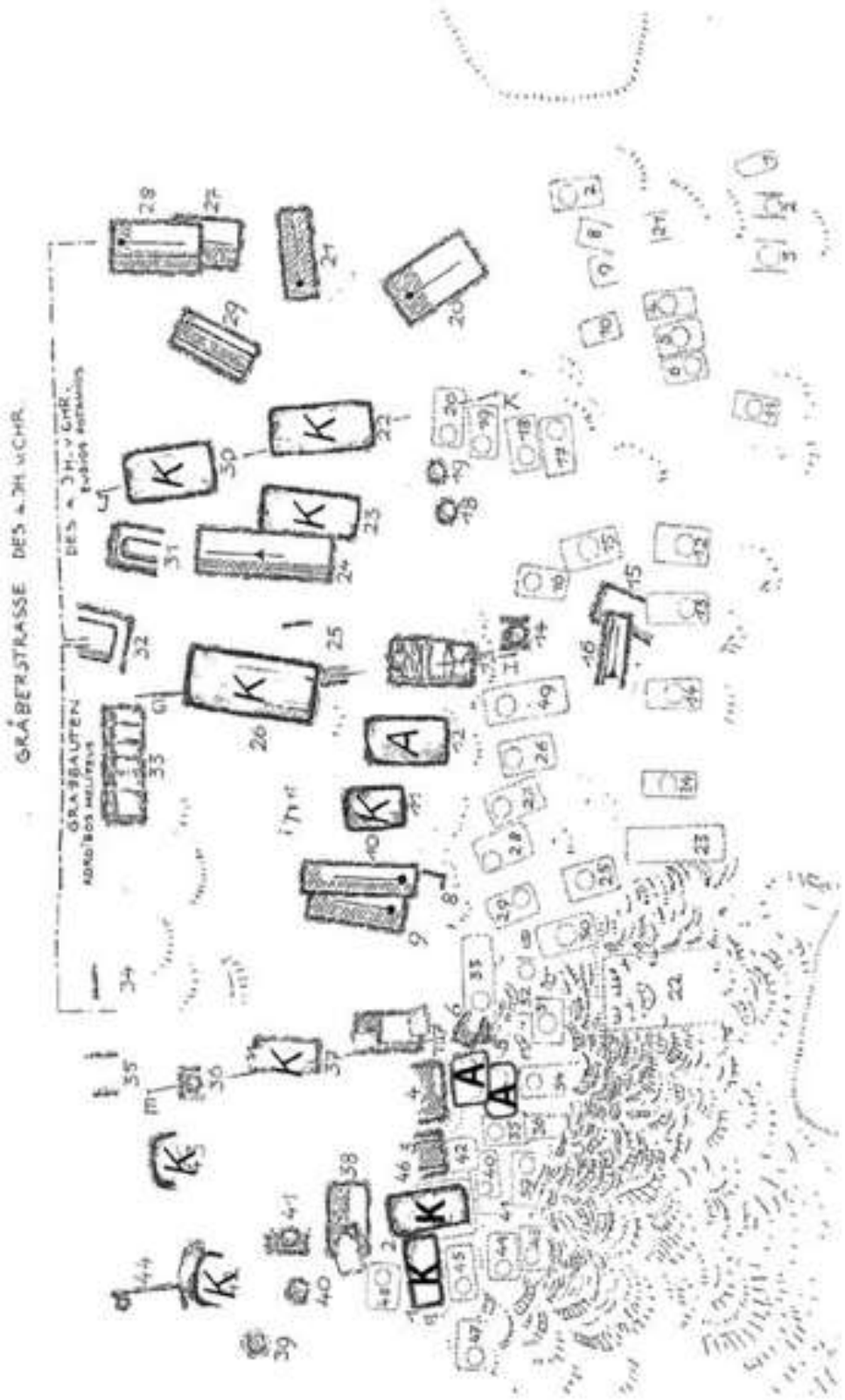


Figure 6: Distribution of Kraters and Amphorae in Kerameikos. Kraters (K) and Amphorae (A) over tombs of tenth and early ninth century (bold) and of the ninth and eighth century (italic) [81]

[100] Osbourne 2014: 259 after Kübler 1954: Beilage 2.

the family, with their use across diverse burials reflecting varying levels of family involvement in the burial organisation. What is more suggestive is the repeated choice of an oversized vessel for use in the funerary sphere. This is a commentary itself and draws focus on the vessel as a special object outside of the domestic sphere, with the use in a funerary context as a ritual expression that is a shared feature of a particular social, political, or religious group (kinship groups), which imbues the object with status and symbolism. This heightened feature does not preclude that the vessel was not second-hand at the time of use, (despite Whitley and Morris' assertion[101]) as on a more pragmatic note, the secondary use of the vessel is less of an incursion on the family's wealth.

From the MG period, inhumation burials are re-introduction as a viable variation to the practice of cremation,[102] and there are also instances of primary cremations found in the burial plots (Grave I18:1) centred around family groupings in the Aeropagos Geometric lot and other graves on the North Slope of the Areopagos.[103] To co-inside with this variation, 'Trench-and-hole' style graves begin to disappear, replaced by a simple rectangular trench for both cremations and inhumations, covered with stone slabs. Variations on cremation graves also include the use of bronze cauldrons (or lebes) in place of clay vessels, as found in both Kerameikos Grave G71 and G72, as well as the cemetery in Dimitrakopoulou Street (part of the Dipylon Cemetery).[104] Funerary gifts are identical in cremation and inhumation burials, and no differential criteria have been detected. Graves continue to be marked by a stone stele

[101] See n. 98.
[102] Laughy 2010: 30.
[103] Grave I 18:1, Smithson 1974: 332-333, 359-363; Coldstream 2003: 81; Laughy 2010: 27.
[104] Kübler 1954: 258-260; Laughy 2010: 29; Dimitriadou 2019: 91.

and ceramic vessels for markers: with amphorae for women or kraters for men (Fig. 6).

The type of vessel also has symbolic value. Whitley highlights how burial Amphorae have a gendered tradition, with belly-handled amphorae usually denoting the burial of an adult woman, whilst shoulder-handled amphorae usually denote the burial of a 'maiden' or young woman, the inference being that women were water bearers and this type of vessel is symbolically related to a gender-related domestic role.[105] The krater, meanwhile, is usually associated with male burials, with Luke outlining the krater as a symbol of power and Bohen connecting Kraters to the abstract concept of *kratos,* linking them to the burial of Athenian leaders during this period. However, this cannot be substantiated adequately.[106]



Figure 7: Attic vessels- Tomb markers. a) Amphora 804 shows the prothesis of a woman; b) Krater 990 shows the Ekphora of a male figure[107]

[105] Whitley 1996: 221-222
[106] Luke 1994; Bohen 2017.
[107] Dimitriadou 2019: 92.

In the LG period, this trend continues and increases, which, when added to those plots from the MG period that were still in operation, counts as a significant increase in grave contexts.[108] It is during this transitional period from the Middle to Late period that *Prothesis* and *Ekphora* scenes on Kraters are introduced (Fig. 7), with groups of workshops producing monumental vessels for wealthy graves.[109] During this period, the practice of inhumation makes a revival becoming the dominant burial rite. Bohen, in studying traditional Athenian king lists, hypothesises a speculative protohistory of Athens, suggesting that the change occurred due to the termination of authority of the life-king of Athens and the change in power between prominent families (the so-called decline of the Neleid family's domination and the Medontid takeover of authority).[110] This view is attractive to many scholars[111] who wish to place a historical narrative into the period. However, the link is too tenuous to consider without further evidence to act as verification. The LGII period saw the re-use of *enchytrismoi* burial as a form of burial for children, appearing in large numbers, typically these burials utilised amphorae, hydriae, pithos and other such large vessels, and their appearance is now found in the main cemeteries along with adults.[112] This shift is so pronounced that by the end of the LG period, some cemeteries in Attica transformed from adult or mixed burial sites to almost exclusively *enchytrismoi* cemeteries for children.[113] The picture is incomplete regarding the burial of children, as *enchytrismoi* is just one option, with the other options not visible in the archaeological record. From LGII, large drinking vessels are no longer used as grave

[108] Laughy 2010: 30-31.
[109] Ahlberg 1971:25; Fig 1a-e.
[110] Bohen 2017: 14-15.
[111] van den Eijnde 2010: 323-3
[112] Laughy 2010: 31.
[113] Morris 1987: 82-85; 122-129; 219.

markers as *Ekphora* scenes now decorate smaller vessels, typically amphorae, oenochoai, and pitchers, and are interred with the body out of public view (Fig. 8).[114]

Chariot scenes and lines of *'warriors'* are still common on *prosthesis* vessels of this period. However, scenes of active battles on land, and all images of ships, common in LGI monumental funerary markers, are now absent.[115] By LGIIb, Weapons such as swords and spearheads are also absent from burials.[116] This co-insides with

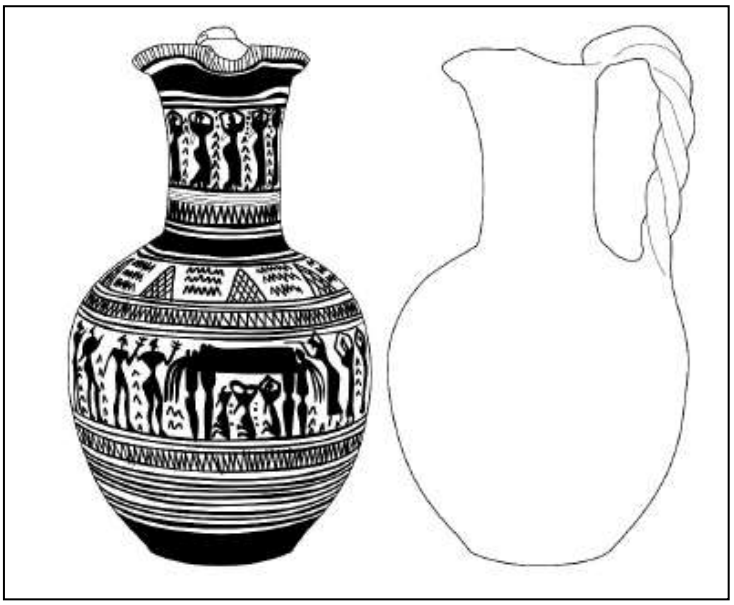


Figure 8: LGII Oinochoe (CA 3283, Louvre) depicting a prothesis scene[117]

the rise of the Athens as a *polis* and changes the mortuary identity for male members, which may be suggestive of a move away from a martial identity as the overriding characteristic of masculinity to that of a civic identity as a member of the *polis* with no further need of the *accoutrements* and trappings previously included in grave goods. Also, the images found on figurative funerary vessels move away from this identity as it is accepted that the scenes are not representational of contemporary epic stories

[114] Ahlberg 1971: 27-28; Whitley 2003: 164-165; Laughy 2010: 31.
[115] Laughy 2010: 33.
[116] Morris 1987: 147-151, figs 52-53; Whitley 2003: 165-166, 183, *Table* 1.1.
[117] de Souza & Dias 2018: 70.

but represent something personal to the person or family.[118] Metal, in general, is less commonly placed with the dead and is restricted to typical cosmetic items, such as rings and fibulae. Interred pottery follows the same pattern, representing varied household vessels primarily associated with drinking.[119] On the whole, the quality and quantity of grave goods diminished, and the most lavish graves are identified typically as female (Dipylon Grave 13). The only exception to this rule is a group of burials on the Kerameikos *plattenbau* (see Fig. 9).

Found in this burial mound are three generations of burials from 760 onwards, with the *enchytrismoi* of eight infants, six sub-adults, and eleven adults, all inhumed (except for two adult cremations). The layout and construction of these graves show evidence of careful planning, with the design incorporating schist orthostats, and the burials are now covered by a low-constructed tumulus, with some of the richer burials separated and surrounded by low partitions.[120] The *periboloi* erected around these groups of graves mark the change in the LG period from individual interments in conformity with typical Archaic burial groups, perhaps in response to the proximity of tombs belonging to rivalling groups/*genos*.[121]

The later activity in the area may explain the lack of material evidence for this period during the Archaic and Classical periods, as a large quantity of LG sherds were found displaced in the fill of the 6th century tumulus tomb located in the southwest of the *Eridanos*. Under this same Tumulus are graves found relating to the 8th century (buried before its construction), and it is unclear if its creation was a deliberate act,

[118] Coldstream 1968: 350.
[119] Whitley 2003: 178.
[120] Coldstream 2003: 120; Dimitriadou 2019: 82-3; Morris 1987: 82; Houby-Nielsen 2000: 156-157; Antonaccio 1995: 251.
[121] van den Eijnde 2010: 187.

with possibly the later occupants identifying as members of the same clan. Similarly, Tumulus G also destroyed a more significant part of the LG cemetery located in the

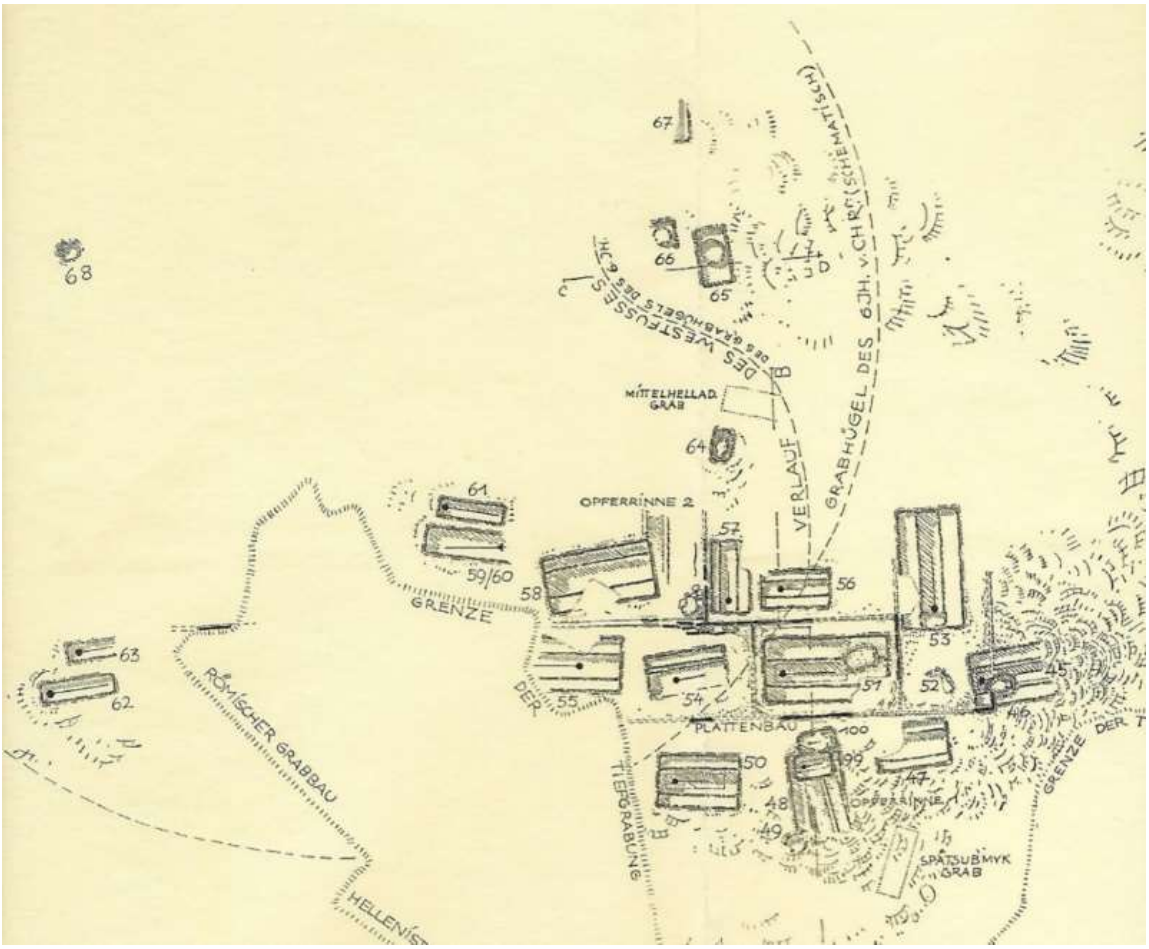


Figure 9: Section of Kerameikos showing the Plattenbau [122]

Agia Triada cemetery.[123] LGII burials exhibit more variation among contemporary burial practices than in previous periods. In the Athenian Agora, pit and cist inhumations occur close to each other; found on Erechtheiou Street are both *'primary'* and *'secondary'* cremation burials in adjacent plots, with amphorae in situ. Such practices indicate that burial customs appear less restrictive in LGII than at any other time in the EIA. Laughy postulates that the lower numbers of archaeologically visible burials in the PG and EG periods could have been due to a restriction of formal burial to the

[122] Kübler 1943: Belige 6.
[123] Morris 1987: 81 estimates at least 20 graves.

wealthiest families, with this system being overthrown in the LG period during a 'social revolution'. This accounts for the high number of grave goods during the EG and MG periods and the relative lack of rich graves dating to the LG period. The only criticism of this theory is that there is still a rise in the number of archaeologically visible burials seen in subsequent periods, which contradicts this power dynamic.[124]

Across all strata of Athenian society, there was a formal continuity of burial rites for this period, with more of the population using the same burial practice.[125] Morris hypothesises that elites made up 25 – 50% of society, and using a model set down in Aristotle he highlights that society at this time was made up of the governing elite, wealthy peasants and the poor, the assumption being that it was a privilege of citizenship.[126] The venue, the mortuary symbols, and the rituals of the LG period (through which the aristocracy expressed their status) are re-appropriated and now emulated by all elements of the social strata, including those in lower social bands, explaining the rise of inhumation burials. Also, concerning cremation burials, the quantity of wood needed for the pyre (for the temperature to be sustained for the appropriate amount of time for complete incineration of the corpse) would have been met at a substantial cost, as well as a considerable undertaking to acquire, with inhumation in contrast, being relatively cheaper to undertake. In line with social trends, the wealthy react by returning to reduced ostentation and restraint in burial practice and move their competitive displays of status to select arenas – such as symposiums, banqueting halls, and civic dedications and offerings being made at sanctuary sites.[127] Some of the variations found in the LG Period would go on to define the later periods

[124] Laughy 2010: 42.
[125] Arist.*Ath.*55.3; Dem. 43.79-80. Cf. Dem. 55.13-14; 57.28. Cf. Arist.*Ath*.Pol.*50.2.*
[126] Morris 1987: 97; Aristotle *Pol.*4.11.1259b.
[127] Laughy 2010: 45.

and become widespread in the EA period. For example, *Opferrinnen*, or offering trenches (Fig. 10), is an established feature in the seventh-century Kerameikos, but it first appeared in an LGIIa context in Kerameikos graves G47 & G57.[128] An associated

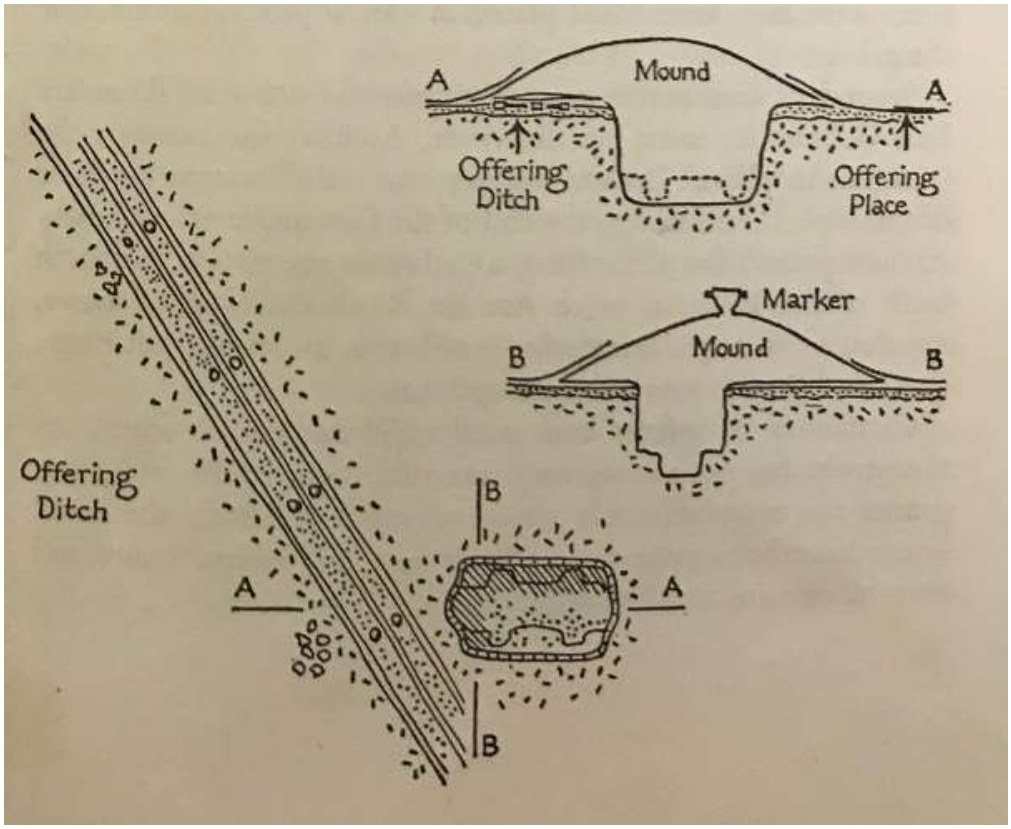


Figure 10: Overview of an offering Trench[129]

feature of this phenomenon is the 'sacrificial pyre', found with two inhumations dating to the end of the LG in the Athenian Agora and with one inhumation in the Kerameikos. Pyre deposits from grave contexts G12:19 and G12:24 found in the Tholos Cemetery, dating to the SubG period, are considered *Opferrinnen deposits.*[130] Among the Athenian Agora pyre deposits were several free-standing terracotta figurines, both human and animal, that are rare within Iron Age graves (Graves XI & XI).[131]

[128] Kübler 1954: 240-242, 251-52; Kurtz and Boardman 1971: 75, 145; Houby-Nielsen 1992, 1995, 1996; D'Onofrio 1993; Kistler 1998: 31-77, 147-71.
[129] Kurtz and Boardman 1971: 73.
[130] Whitley 2003: 178, 204.
[131] Young & Angel 1939: figs 35-36, 40-42; Laughy 2010: 34.

Later, in the EA period, there was a shift to adult primary cremations with burning inside the burial plot, and the number of burial sites dropped significantly, especially in the Kerameikos, which saw a reduction of half compared to the LG period. Laughy states that several graves had no offerings, and there is an issue with identifying 7th-century graves, with no two scholars listing the same number of total Early Archaic graves. This is replicated for the Early Iron Age period, as the figures listed in *Table 1* do not match those in *Table 2*.[132] Figures in *Table 1* represent my study of Athenian burials, whereas those in *Table 2* represent those published by Vizyinou**.**[133] Differing figures may be due to discrepancies in the listing of grave types discussed in *Chapter 8*, with reports not uniform and open to interpretation, and further data is needed regarding the methodology by Vizyinou to ascertain how the interpretation of burial constructions differed.

Cremations in the Kerameikos were conducted inside grave shafts, which had increased in size compared to earlier periods. After the cremation, the remains were left at the bottom of the burial plot, filled with earth and a grave mound was placed over the burial. The deposition of grave goods is far less common, with items placed on perishable constructions in the offering trenches or areas close to the grave during the cremation. Whitley states that the funerary complexes of the seventh century deliberately evoke Homeric Burials with the use of primary cremation, grave mounds, grave markers and offering trenches and that mortuary specialists need to be less eager to look at burials in terms of power relations and should be more open to metaphor. This may be a good exercise on paper, but in practical application, such intellectual exercises may create bias in interpretation.[134] Shaft graves have also been

[132] Laughy 2010: 35.
[133] Vizyinou 2019: 13.
[134] Whitley 2011: 60.

discovered in several areas around central Athens, mostly dating to the Geometric and Early Archaic period (see Table 24).

2.3 Burial Trends in Athens and Wider Attica up to the Early Archaic Period

An analysis of burials contrasting Athens and rural Attica found that the lowest rate of inhumations occurred during the Early Geometric.[135] This totalled 20% of all graves, whilst conversely, the highest rates of inhumation were observed from burials during the SM and LG period, at approximately 90% and 80%, respectively, with vessel burials included in the calculations as inhumations.[136] The sample for these findings consists of all reported burials with specific dates and burial types available.[137] Cremation predominates in the PG period, and overall burial rates decline. This trend becomes noticeably more pronounced in the Early and Middle Geometric periods, when overall burial rates drop to approximately one-fourth and one-third of the SM periods, respectively. By contrast, inhumation re-establishes its dominance in the LG, and the number of burials rises rapidly.[138] Reportedly when cremation dominates in the burial record, the total number of burials usually drops, but when inhumation burial leads, there is a rise in the total number of burials. This sudden increase in burials has been interpreted as evidence for the right to a formal burial being extended to a more significant proportion of the population, with archaeologically visible burials showing a marked contrast to the previous periods when cremation seemed either invisibly archaeologically or with the burials known, contained to a smaller circle of families

[135] Vizyinou 2019.
[136] Coldstream 2008, 330 f.
[137] Vizyinou 2019: 11-12.
[138] Vizyinou 2019: 12; Snodgrass 2006, 204 f.

(what Morris states is the purview of the elite although I disagree with this interpretation).[139]

Checking whether the described pattern in the Geometric period is repeated during the Archaic is just as challenging as studying burials in the EIA, as this period does not have any detailed compilation of its graves available.[140] In addition, our understanding of the other Athens sites is incomplete, except for the Kerameikos and Agora-Areopagos cemeteries. The subject is expected to benefit from the numerous recent excavations in rural Attica, which have been conducted due to significant public works. However, this has only been partially achieved to date, with only preliminary overviews published, with no real detail. In the case of excavated cemeteries such as, this often amounts to little more than a phrase mentioning the number of graves and the different periods within which they are dated. As significant as this might be as a historical and topographical reference, it leaves a gap in the evidence regarding the actual burial context. Sometimes a more concrete description of graves is available, but they are not specifically dated. This, combined with the fragmentary nature of publications of earlier finds, results in the limited availability of data for statistics, comparative studies, or examination of particular characteristics. Given these restrictions, the largest cemeteries published are in Eleusis, Anavyssos, and Merenta, districts with multiple burial grounds at various locations.[141] This is compared to the largest Geometric-era cemeteries in Athens published, those in the Kerameikos, Agora-Areopagos, Metaxourgeion-Psyri, and the area south of the Acropolis. For instance, excavations at Anavyssos have revealed a Geometric cemetery at Agios

[139] Morris 1987: 57–155, especially 93–96; & cf. Houby-Nielsen 1992: 360.
[140] Vizyinou 2019: 12-13, Appendix II, Morris 1987: 11.
[141] Houby-Nielsen 2009: 190.

Panteleimon and an Archaic one at Palaia Fokaia (Kataphyki), which had several Geometric tombs.[142] The figures in *Table 2* are derived from the references that provide explicit numbers of excavated graves for each period.[143]

It must be made clear which region is urban Athens and which is considered rural Attica beyond Athens before comparing the tombs. The Themistoclean city wall is a definite boundary of the Classical city area, but no defensive wall existed during the Geometric period.[144] Following Vizyinou, the Themistoclean wall may also act as a traditional dividing line between the *asty* and the *chora*.[145] Any location outside of this wall's immediate vicinity can be construed as being in rural Attica for this comparison. Only a tiny percentage of the graves found in Athens and the surrounding territory can be dated to before the LG period, even though both cremations and inhumation burial have been found in the PG and Early Geometric periods.[146] The EG periods saw an increase in cremations, with the ratio of cremations to inhumations in Athens being reported as 5:1 and appearing to be 3:1 elsewhere in Attica.[147] The increase in cremations is significantly greater in Athens and less pronounced. As per all chapters in this thesis, all figures are subject to revision since the data is incomplete, with new information giving a reappraisal (or confirmation) of any previous interpretation.

When inhumation burials gradually replaced cremation as the preferred method of interment in the Middle to Late Geometric periods, there was a corresponding trend toward fewer inhumations emerging in rural regions. Cremation-to-inhumation ratios

[142] Vizyinou 2010: B nos. 1491–1534.
[143] Vizyinou 2019:12-14, Appendix II.
[144] Theocharaki 2011.
[145] Vizyinou 2019: 13.
[146] Vizyinou 2019: Fig. 3; Appendix IV; Kurtz & Boardman 1971: 36. 50; Snodgrass 1980: 23; Coldstream 2003: 35, 133.
[147] Vizyinou 2019: 15.

in both locations are 2:1. This indicates that Athens has a more significant rate of 'cremation de-escalation' than the periphery, where inhumation predominates over cremation to a lesser extent. Towards the end of the MG, the trend towards inhumation burials intensifies, with inhumation becoming the most common burial, with a cremation-to-inhumation ratio of 1: 4 in Athens and 1: 2 in the surrounding territory.[148] In contrast to Athens, rural communities continue to favour inhumation less.[149] Since rural Attica only partially adopted the innovation of inhumation during the LG era, the trend may be viewed as cautious. According to Vizyinou, this is not unexpected because Attica's 'peripheral' territory is frequently noted as responding more slowly to change, with social precedents coming from the 'centre' in Athens, with this change of social dynamics rippling slowly out to rural areas.[150] This hesitancy is not quantifiable in terms other than numbers, so any theory on power dynamics between rural and central Athens is speculative, despite scholars such as Alexandridou stating that this was due to the conservatism of the local elites.[151]

Rural Attica's cemeteries are not very useful in providing detailed statistical data on the predominance of burial types throughout the Archaic period.[152] As far as can be ascertained, cremations and vessel burials make up the majority of the cemeteries in Anavyssos and Merenta.[153] Despite the absence of a precise chronology, there are multiple references to Eleusinian cemeteries that have been used for several centuries, and most adult graves there appear to have been cremations.[154] In Vari's North Cemetery, which dates from the second half of the sixth century, cremations still

[148] Snodgrass 2000: 149.
[149] Vizyinou 2019: 15-16.
[150] Ibid., 2019: 16-17.
[151] Alexandridou 2012: 42, 66.
[152] Vizyinou 2019: 17, n.29.
[153] Kakavogianni 1984; Kakavogianni 1987.
[154] Vizyinou 2019:17, n.32.

dominate, while in Kerameikos, inhumation has once again become predominant.[155] This characteristic has been perceived as social conservatism practised by local elites.[156] Cremations appear to have predominated there throughout the Archaic era, notably in the Early and Late Archaic, according to the few graves at Vari's south-eastern cemetery that have been reliably dated.[157] The Late Archaic period in eastern Attica appears to have been dominated by cremation. However, the sample is allegedly poor and requires additional investigation. Therefore, a recurring, if not diachronic, characteristic of rural Attica in contrast to metropolitan areas is, at the very least, a slowness in adopting the changes in burial customs.[158]

From the SM period through the end of the Geometric period, cremations were more common, corresponding with the extremely few burials in the Early and Middle Geometric periods, and inhumations were more common, corresponding with the significant increase in burials in the LG periods. The rise in total burials in the Late Archaic Kerameikos is consistent with this pattern and also occurred when inhumation was widely practised. The reduced acceptability of inhumation there during the LG era attests to a pronounced change in the countryside. The use of cremation in Early Geometric periods indicates that the same may have been confirmed, indicating a general slowness to adapt to new trends in Attica's periphery. The late 6th century also records a comparable distinction between the Vari and Kerameikos graves. It is hypothesised that at least some of the missing graves may have been cremations due to the archaeological invisibility of this burial type (which can be typical of cremation

[155] Alexandridou 2012: 66.
[156] See the above note.
[157] Vizyinou 2019: 17, n.35.
[158] Ibid., 16-17.

without grave goods). Some of these cremations may have been of infants and subadults, but further evidence is required to confirm this notion.[159]

2.4 Ritual Features of Attic Early Iron Age Graves

The archaeological data of this period often only permits the recognition of ritual practices beyond a mundane degree of categorisation, breaking it down into the context of animal sacrifice, food offerings, liquid offerings, peri-funeral activities, and the evidence for ritual dining.[160] This means that the great variety of rituals that may have been practised simultaneously but are not material based are lost to our view. Given the lack of textual evidence, a degree of caution must be deployed when recreating burial rituals or discussing contemporary beliefs attaining to the afterlife. The archaeology must be viewed from a neutral position with a degree of rationality and credibility, tempting as it is to skew the evidence to fit the society of the Homeric epics (using Homer as a comparative model will be explored in *Section 9.7,* with the archaeology taking precedent). With the mainstream archaeological literature dismissing many imaginative reconstructions in favour of more mundane realities.[161] Whilst rituals will be looked at comparatively in *Section 9.2,* there are some interesting features of Athenian burials which cannot be ignored. Whilst burials in Athens during the SM period were simple inhumations, what is found in the PG period is a shift to cremation rites and a formalisation of this process and the funerary ritual, which followed through the Geometric period into the EA period. From the archaeology, in general terms, the process saw the rigid adoption of a set structure to the burial:

[159] Ibid., 21-22.
[160] van den Eijnde 2010: 15.
[161] Kyriakidis 2007: 2.

digging of the trench for the internment, the act of cremation (usually outside the burial trench); the cremated remains placed within a ceramic vessel that was sealed with a stone, vase or large sherd; the inclusion of grave goods and pyre remains around the vessel, filling in of the trench.[162] From Attic figurative art, there is the depiction of the preparation of the body (*prothesis*), the funeral procession (*ekphora*) and the act of disposal (covered in more detail in *Section 9.1*) but these date to the LG period (see Figs. 7 & 8).[163]

After the funerary ritual, there are further post-funerary rituals, with ritual drinking (see *Section 9.2* for more details) and vessels serving as grave markers. During the PG period, large Kraters, placed on the graveside in the Kerameikos, were used for libations as part of funerary activities or post-funerary rituals.[164] Moving on to the EG and MG period, markers have become routinely placed over graves in the form of stone sema or clay vessels aligned directly above the ash vessel on the grave's surface (Fig. 11).[165] Some kraters have also been pierced, with a hole at the bottom of the vessel. The earliest pierced krater designed as a grave memorial is grave G2 in the Kerameikos dated EGII. Pierced kraters are often interpreted as the earliest secure evidence for repeated ritual or cultic activity at the site of individual graves. [166] This has been interpreted in a ritual capacity. These holes facilitated libations poured from above to pass through to the grave as a post-burial offering. There is likely a link to the consumption of wine at a proto-version of the later Classical symposium. These gatherings are an important part of Greek masculine culture and identity. One reading of their inclusion may be a way to connect with their peers in the symposium after

[162] Lemos 2002: 157.
[163] Ahlberg 1971.
[164] Knigge 1991: 18; Lemos 2002: 156.
[165] Strömberg 1993: 81.
[166] Kübler 1954: 210-212, pl. 17.

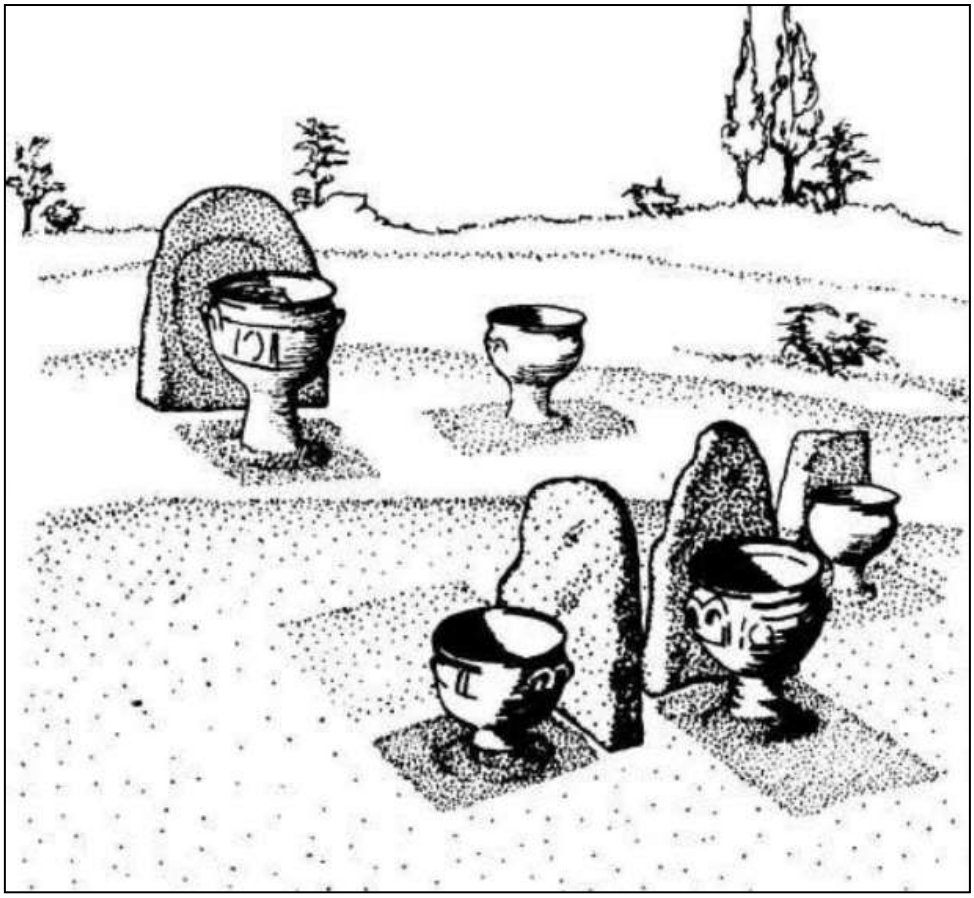


Figure 11: Reconstruction of Krater monuments, dating to the EG – MG period[167]

death. By including a krater and other vessels in a burial, the deceased may have been celebrated and remembered as a participant in these gatherings. There may also be a dual link to the use of this ceramic vessel, in that the idealised version of the afterlife would be a symposium in the underworld (as inferred by later writers such as Plato) and that the goods buried with them are included as both a symbolic gesture showing his status, as well as a representation gesture of those goods due to him in the afterlife.[168] This interpretation is tenuous at best, though, as the reference in Plato can be interpreted as being made mockingly.[169]

[167] Langdon 2008: 50.
[168] Plato, *Rep*. 363c.
[169] Edmonds 2004: 84.

Kurtz & Boardman offer a more functional interpretation that the holes allowed either the krater to be more securely set within the ground or rainwater to drain out of the krater.[170] Whilst the functional argument has practical merit, it also ignores the symbolic purpose for the Kraters, that they had a chthonic function and were not solely an aesthetic feature of the graveside. The quantity of libation containers found in graves indicates the significance of the burial ceremony, which includes libations as offerings to the deceased. Together with this, the charred remains of sacrifices have also been discovered, with animal bones in the deposits above or inside the grave, highlighting that these events happened while the burial was still open (see Section 9.2 on ritual dining). Grave I18:3 in the Areopagos is a cremation burial containing fragments of bones that have been interpreted as a canine which Smithson interprets as part of a purification ceremony. This interpretation is dubious as there are no further finds of this phenomenon replicated elsewhere which would be expected; therefore, further evidence is needed to support this interpretation.[171] In addition to such features, a triangle enclosure has been discovered near the SW corner of the Agora on the Aeropagos, known as the 'triangular monument'; this construction may have served as a proto-*hieron* of sorts, based on a 5th century border stone discovered in one of the corners. Pottery findings and a tiny rectangular platform within the triangle dating from the LG imply that this place was utilised during the EIA, maybe as a site for religious events associated with the EIA tombs.[172]

From the EA period, there have been several changes in mortuary practices. At the end of the LG period, there was a shift to Primary Cremation; the cremation pyre was placed within the burial trench itself, often with an adjoining offering trench

[170] Kurtz and Boardman 1971: 57-58:176. Boardman 1988: 176.
[171] Smithson 1974: 334, 362.
[172] Antonaccio 1995: 122.

attached to it (Fig. 10).[173] At the same time, female burials become archaeologically invisible, with most graves identified as male burials.[174] These graves are no longer linked to family groups but peer groups. It has been hypothesised by Kistler that these groups represented banqueting groups and that the rise of epic poetry at this time changed the *zeitgeist* to one which emulated Homeric practices (as per the importance of ritual drinking when interacting with the dead – see Page 46).[175] This can be tied to offering trenches (Fig. 10), as the type of goods used is seen as a symbolic banquet.[176] which included a range of pottery designed for mixing, drinking, pouring and other dining wares such as oil containers and thymiateria. Kistler hypothesises that the combination of the shapes of ceramic vessels was substituted for 'oriental' metal vessels (and therefore acted as elaborate utensils or *'Scheingeschirr'*) and that the goods emulated an 'oriental' banqueting set. However, there is yet to be a definition of what items such a term includes in contrast to the already-found vessels.[177] Outside the funerary realm, communal drinking and feasting seem to have been operated in the peak sanctuaries around Attica, which were active during the 7th century. The transfer of dining activities from the domestic or mortuary aspect to the cultic sphere can be traced in the Attic countryside rather than in central Athens as burial trends become archaeologically obscure.

At the end of the 7th century, the trend in cremation burials ceased to be the norm for adult burials, offering channels became rare, and grave goods were once more placed inside the grave, consisting almost exclusively of pottery.[178] It is also around this time that *Prothesis* and *Ekphora* scenes found on Attic pottery start to fall

[173] Houby-Nielsen 1992; 1996; Kistler 1998; Alexandridou 2009; 2013.
[174] Houby-Nielsen 1992: 357-359.
[175] Kistler 1998.
[176] Houby-Nielsen 1992 cf. D'Onofrio 1993: 148-9.
[177] Kistler 1998: 37-38, 49-50.
[178] Vlachou 2012: 373.

out of popularity, given their scarcity in the archaeological record. This, along with another corresponding drop in archaeologically visible burials, has been hypothesised as evidence for the regional autonomy of cult sites, as the focus moves away from rituals at the graveside to sanctuary sites.[179] Communal and private religious practices leading into the EA period are now seen as separate spheres of activity. Thus, ritual activities that may have been initially ascribed to mortuary contexts now occurred in different places with the focal point on institutions that were controlled civically, which correlates with the primacy of the cult of Athena on the Acropolis (established at the end of the 8th century) with religion less domestic and more formalised within *polis* power structures.[180]

2.5. Edifices in close proximity to burials

There is a distinction to be drawn between organised cemeteries (a demarked area designated for communal use as a necropolis) and between individual/small groups of burials in typical domestic contexts. Such burials are found near dwellings, the most significant of these structures containing ritual features relevant to the mortuary landscape of EIA Athens. Given that religion permeates every aspect of Greek history, it is challenging to distinguish between a ritual undertaken as part of a festival (for communal cohesion) and a ritual undertaken in a private capacity done within the domestic confines of a prominent dwelling that is also used as a civic residence. These buildings have associations with authority among the populace, other elites in the village, and between settlements which ties into a competition-emulation culture. Buildings were not just the main dwellings in the settlement but also acted as regional

[179] Van den Eijnde 2010: 371.
[180] Pakkanen 2000: 73.

hubs for agricultural surplus, a focus for family cult, and a place for communal ritual, demonstrating both the formal communal part of the occupant's role in EIA society and the private nature of elite family life.[181] Arguments that state the building can only be domestic lose sight of the complexity and ubiquity of ritualistic action at this time.[182]

2.5.1 'The Sacred House' of the Academy

An EG deposit was found in the general area of the Classical Academy.[183] the deposits found were a homogenous group of over two hundred open vessels, kantharoi and cups, discovered approximately 150 metres southwest of the LG building in the Kokkinogenis plot (Fig. 12).[184] These vessels dated to the LPG/EGI



Figure 12: The EG deposit in the Kokkinogenis plot[185]

[181] Mazarakis-Ainian 1997.
[182] Antonaccio 1995: 191; Laughy 2010: 275.
[183] Mazarakis-Ainian 1997: 142.
[184] Mazarakis-Ainian & Alexandridou 2011: 166.
[185] Alexandridou 2017: 50, figure 2.11.

transitional period were found without contextual evidence. They were carefully placed in rows no more than 10 metres in extent, one inside the other and resting on an ash layer. Snodgrass dates the cups to the PG period, but Coldstream dates them to EGI; Mazarakis-Ainian & Alexandridou dates the pottery to the transitional period of LPG/EGI, which I agree with.[186] However, I disagree with Mazarakis-Ainian's assertion that the finds are the contents of a potter's shop, as the presence of the ash layer invalidates this interpretation.[187] The main point of contention is if the objects had a ritual significance. The accumulation of the ceramic vessels points to recurrent visits, whilst the cups suggest that the activity was linked to ritual dining, with the ashes found suggesting a sacrifice for a feast or cultic offering.[188] Also, an LG Apsidal building was discovered at the centre of an LG-EA cemetery on this site . This was a mudbrick, multi-room structure that the original excavator, Stavropoullos, considered the residence of the mythical figure of Academos based on the proximity to the Classical sanctuary.[189] He dubbed the building a 'sacred house', a complex where sacrifices were performed using the analogy of the 'sacred house of Eleusis'.[190] When the remains of an EH apsidal house remains discovered (Fig. 13), the excavator linked this to the hero Academos, claiming that it was his original dwelling.[191] What needs to be clarified is whether the remains of the EH edifice were visible when the later building was constructed, given the distance in time between the two. Whilst the site may have been remembered in folk memory, if the remains of a building were still

[186] Snodgrass 2000:398; Coldstream 2008: 399; Mazarakis-Ainian & Alexandridou 2011: 166.
[187] Mazarakis- Ainian 1997: 142, 315.
[188] van den Eijnde 2010: 61-62.
[189] Stavropoullos 1956: 50.
[190] Mazarakis-Ainian 1997: 150-154; 1999; 2011:66.
[191] Mazarakis-Ainian & Alexandridou 2011: 166.

visible, this may be an attempt to re-appropriate the past and claim historical legitimacy. I doubt there was a conscious link by contemporaries to the figure of

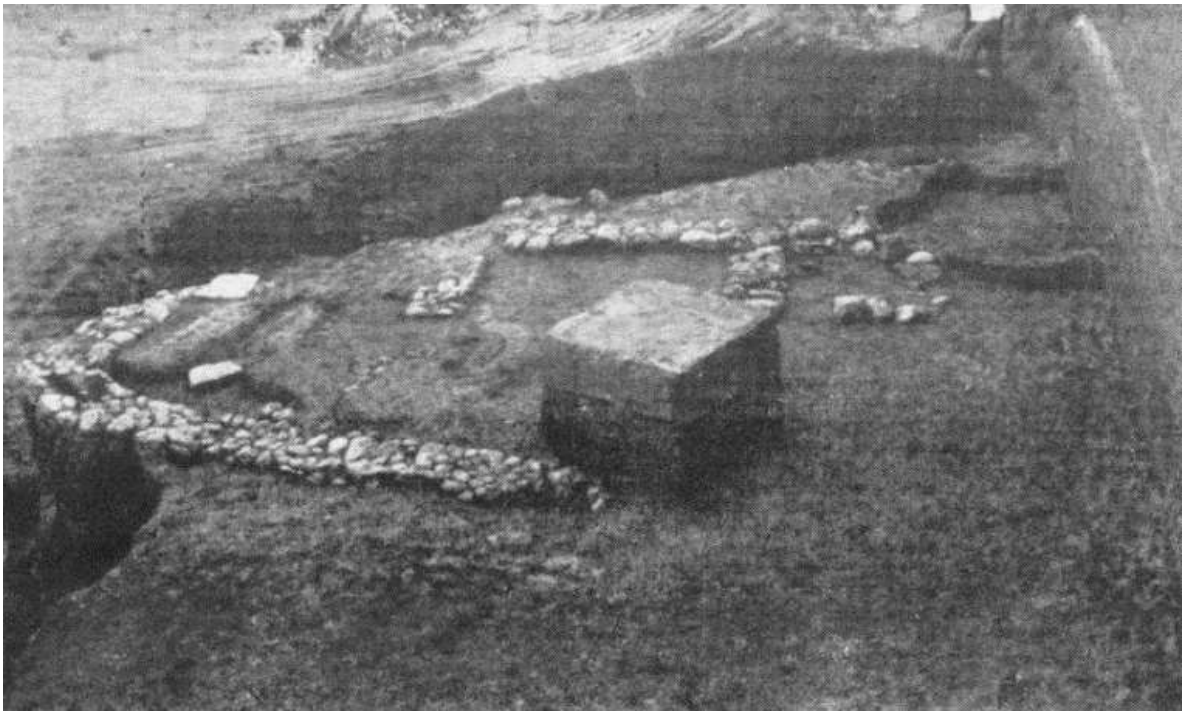


***Figure 13: Classical Academy: Remains of the Early Helladic House*[192]**

Academos, and this interpretation is retrospective reasoning. Its excavator, Stavropoullos, offered no evidence of this link in the findings. The site is also outside the boundary of the later Classical sanctuary as established by a 5th century maker stone (*IG* I^3 1091) reading *[h]όρος τῆς hεκαδεμείας*, and a later *peribolos* wall suggesting that the sanctuary was situated at close range (Fig. 14) making any posthumous link tenuous.[193] The LG complex comprises at least seven compartments arranged on either side of a corridor (Fig. 15).[194] The edifice contained the remnants of pyres, with remnants of ashes, charcoal, and animal bones mixed with incomplete vase fragments of various shapes. However, these sherds were only small and isolated and seemed to be from the fill acuminated over the rooms rather than a

[192] Ibid., 68.
[193] Travlos, 1971a; van den Eijnde 2010: 62, n176.
[194] Alexandridou 2017: 43.

defined burial context, with the excavation diary stating that the team never reached the foundation levels in the excavations.[195] Later additions to the house (based on external walls) also indicate ritual activity dating to the transition between the LG and EA period, as room ζ contained three ash layers and might have been a *bothros* or

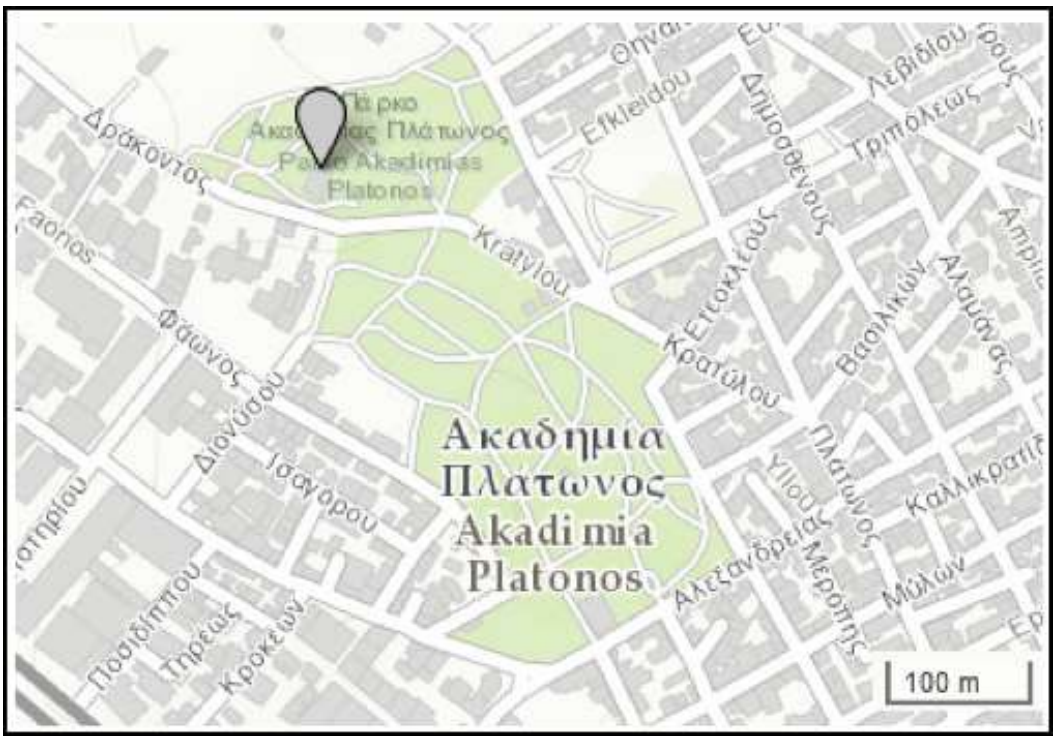


Figure 14: Athens: The Academy[196]

burial pit.[197] Found scattered around this site were seven child *enchytrismoi* occupying the west side of a low mound, which were contemporaneous to the edifice. According to Stavropoullos' diaries, all the amphorae contained cremated children except for one (no. 2), which contained an adult. More burials were excavated by Stavropoullos in the close vicinity of the prehistoric structure, except for the child *enchytrismoi* detected on the low mound over the EH House.[198] In particular, a disturbed burial was found 11

[195] Alexandridou 2017: 47-48.
[196] Adapted from Mazarakis 2017a.
[197] Ibid., 49.
[198] Stavropoullos 1956: 50 (Tombs 2 – 7).

metres northwest of the western edge of the EH edifice. According to the excavator, this burial belonged to a child vessel burial. Two more Geometric burials were

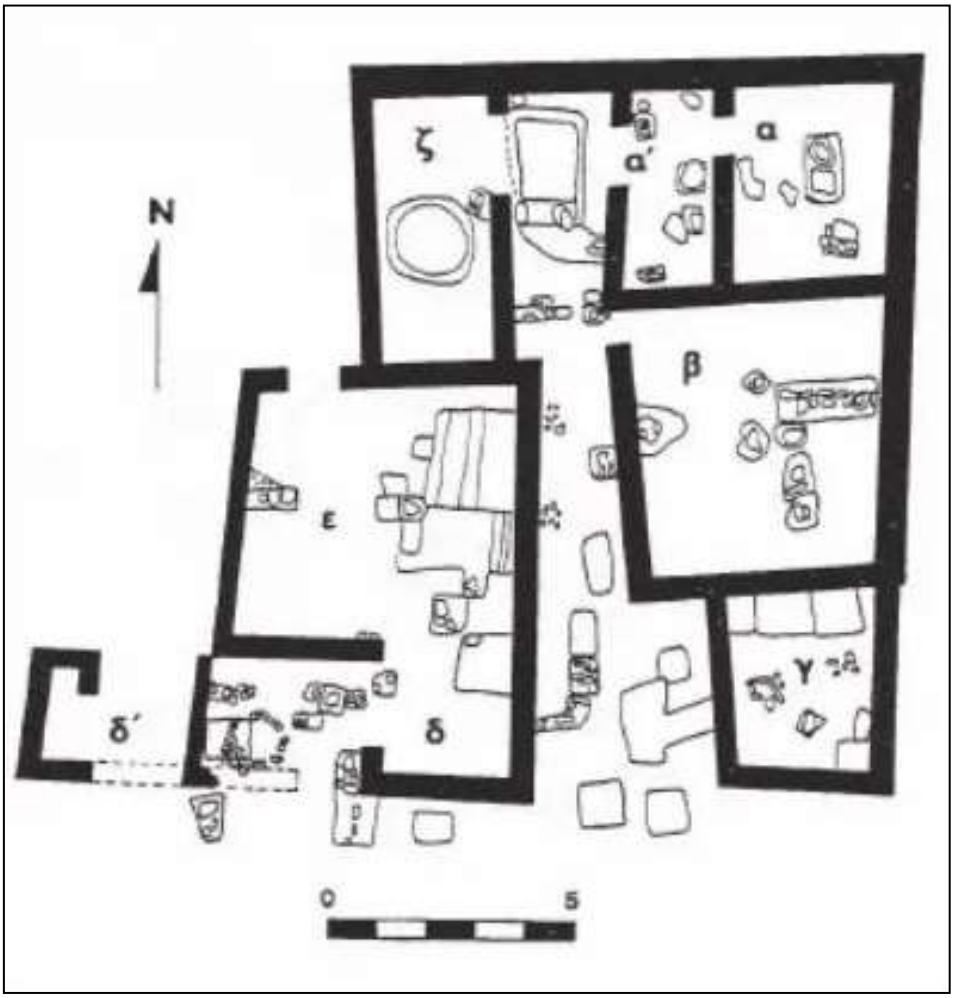


Figure 15: Plan of the 'Sacred' House in the Academy[199]

excavated at a distance of 38 metres northeast of the EH edifice, both placed over a layer of sand. An adult inhumation inside a large LGIIa amphora with warriors on its neck was found, and another burial has also been placed just 0.30 metres east of the 'warriors' amphora, retaining the same east-to-west orientation. The interior revealed remains of burnt bones of a child, according to the excavator, as well as a skyphos, 2 miniature oenochoai, 3 miniature one-handled cups along the teichion south of the

[199] Mazarakis-Ainian 1997: Fig. 32.

Sacred House, 2 LGII inhumations, as well as several contemporary cremations were excavated.[200] Initially, given the proximity to the LG-EA cemetery, a link was drawn suggesting that the evidence for ritual activities related to the dead, with feasting and ritual libations connected to ancestor cult. However, recently Laughy has re-examined the excavation notes for the site, as he considers the site a banqueting hall used by the kinship group of those buried and that the feasting rituals that took place were not so much chthonic (similar to what would be found in a cultic context), but mnemonic or commemorative, with the house acting as a focal point for gatherings, where elites could participate in the process of peer-polity interaction (competitive emulation).[201] Where rituals may relate directly to offerings for the dead, it has been hypothesised by Alexandridou that this marks the '*sacralisation'* of the building, with its more communal ritual aspects now re-directed to a formal cult site such as a temple or sanctuary.[202] It is a reasonable assumption that the location was used due to the fertility of the area and the close access to a water supply, with past activities considered a *lieux de memoire.*[203]

2.5.2 The Geometric oval building on the Aeropagos

The Oval Building (or 'Geometric House') is an edifice measuring 5.5-6 x 11 metres, located on the northern slope of the Aeropagos overlooking the *Agora*, in a part of Athens unpopulated during the EIA (Fig. 16). The archaeological remains show evidence of usage during the Geometric period with finds of sherds from under the building floor. However, their battered state does not offer a secure date for

[200] Alexandridou 2017a.
[201] Laughy 2010:275; cf. Mazarakis-Ainian 1997.
[202] Alexandridou 2017: 71.
[203] Ibid., 50.

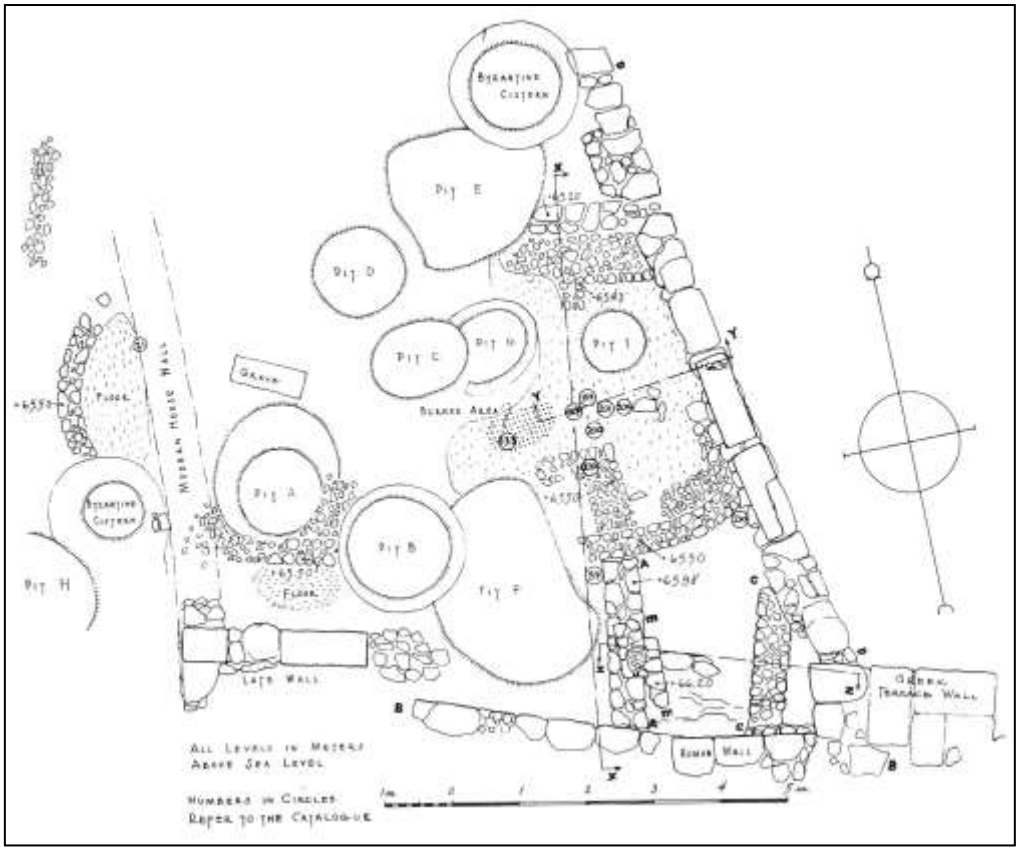


Figure 16: Original plan of the Areopagos Oval Building[204]

construction.[205] Whilst the construction date of the building is a contentious issue, what is more secure, is the date of destruction which dates to the third quarter of the 8th century.[206] From the excavation notes, it can also be seen that there are patches of rock that acted as a raised stone bench that may have formed part of the substructure of wooden benches, whose use can be interpreted as being connected to ritual dining - connected to the surrounding burial plot (similar to those found at Stamna). The building was built on top of an EGI child's grave (H17:2), with evidence of at least two more disturbed burials nearby,[207] as well as a simple adult cremation at its southwest corner.[208] The immediate vicinity of the building was used as a burial ground in the EG

[204] van den Eijnde & Laughy 2017: 242, Fig. 2.
[205] Burr 1933: 554-555; Thompson 1968: 60; Coldstream 2003: 30; 2008: 11, 399; Whitley 1994: 225.
[206] Laughy 2010: 256.
[207] Mazarakis-Ainian 1997: 87, n 440.
[208] Burr 1933: 552-554.

and MG period. On the periphery of the building are found other burials relating to this period, such as the EGII burial H16:6, which is located 15 metres north of the building, as well as the Aeropagos Geometric Lot, which contained EG to MGI burials of both children and adults (Fig. 17).[209]



Figure 17: Athens - Grave H16:6[210]

The area presumably contained many more burials disturbed by later activity, as is evidenced by the presence of burnt EG and MG pottery inside later pits dug into the area of the oval building.[211] At first, the building was identified as a dwelling, then as a chthonic shrine or *Heroön*.[212] Those who see the house as a dwelling near a burial plot (possibly belonging to the same kinship group) also see the feasting element of the edifice as falling within the sociological bounds of peer emulation.[213] However, I would assert that given its location inside a burial site dating to EG/MG

[209] Van den Eijnde and Laughy 2017: 236.
[210] Thompson *et* al. 1972: pl. 20.
[211] Burr 1933: 561.
[212] Dimitriadou 2019: 87.
[213] Alexandridou 2018: 41-42.

period, it can be asserted that the structure was a ritual complex, in some way connected to ancestor veneration.[214]

2.5.3 The edifice at Herakleidon Street

An apsidal building (Fig. 18) has been discovered near the Classical Periaeus Gate (40 Herakleidon Street). The building was located close to burial sites. The edifice was built in the PG period but remained in use until the late 8th century (using the pottery fragments to establish the chronology). A PG pit has also been uncovered attached to an external wall near where the burials have been found. The evidence indicates ritual dining as excavators have found artefacts such as one-handled cups, krater-bowls, fragments of coarse ware (probably a lekane or mould for making bread) and burnt animal bones and seashells. The pit was sealed immediately after these items were deposited. Whether this relates to the founding of the building or is evidence of ritual activity is a point of debate.[215] Located 50 metres away from the building is a cremation burial (burial at 7 Ag. Anargyron Street), and over the grave, remains of post holes were found, which could have supported the construction and were dated to the LG period.[216] In the adjacent space, an LG amphora (depicting a *prothesis* scene) linking additional burials to the surrounding ground was found. The edifice at **Herakleidon Street** was an important building judging from its size and was likely to be the seat of an important elite family.[217] A dense population zone is thought to have existed between the Acropolis and the Kerameikos, according to the PG assemblages from

[214] van den Eijnde 2010: 114-5.
[215] Ibid., 42.
[216] Servetopoulou 2009: 92.
[217] Mazarakis-Ainian 1997; Alexandridou 2017b: 160.

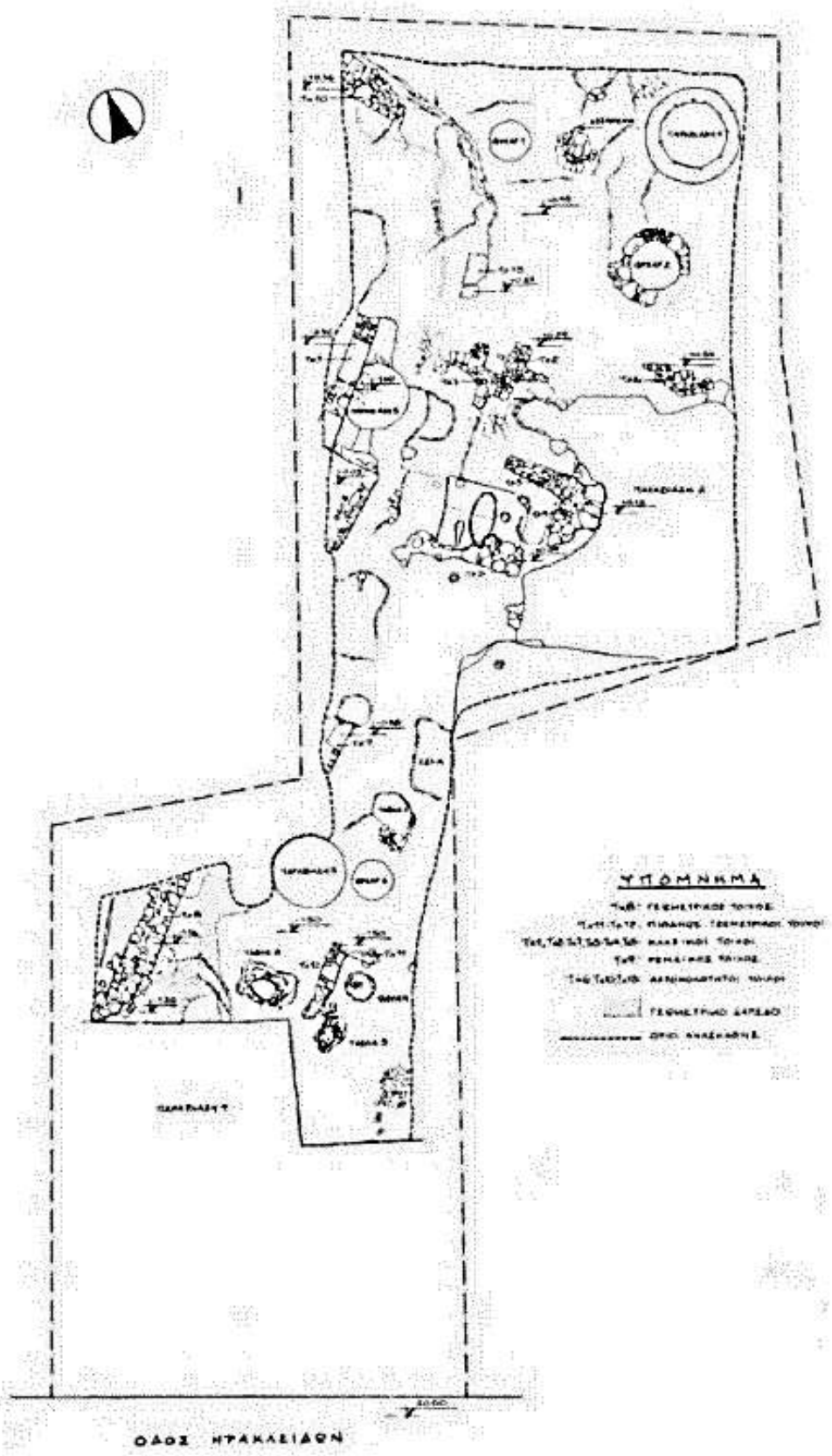


Figure 18: The plan of the apsidal building at Herakledion Street [218]

[218] Ibid., Fig. 9.

the Agora wells.[219] Even if the building on Herakleidon Street seems to support the former theory, the debate over whether PG Athens represented a single settlement with the Acropolis as its centre or a collection of minor habitation clusters surrounding it continues.[220] The edifice is similar to the academy in that earlier remains (in this case, LHIIIC) have been discovered and provide a link to the distant past. The building was in use for several hundred years. Alexandridou shows that the last phase of the use and its subsequent abandonment was marked by placing four vessel burials of children from the late 8th century in its closed vicinity with an enclosure wall to delimit them.[221] An ash layer containing burnt animal bones and part of an animal figurine covered one of the burials. Since infants are often buried within habitation quarters in Athens and elsewhere, and infant mortality was probably relatively high during this period, the vessels may have accommodated the youngest members of the family residing in the edifice at this time. The interpretation of this edifice as a residential dwelling does not dismiss its ritual connotations. Elite dwellings at this time acted as both a civic and ritual building (taking over some function of the Mycenaean palaces) and as a private residence.[222]

[219] Papadopoulos 2003.
[220] Papadopoulos 2003: 297-316; Lemos 2002: 198.
[221] Alexandridou 2017: 55.
[222] Mazarakis-Ainian 1997: 275; Thomas & Conant 1999: 39, 159.

CHAPTER 3 - BURIAL CUSTOMS OF EUBOEA AND ITS PERIPHERY

3.1 Introduction

Whilst 'Chapter 2' dealt with the multiple cemeteries of a single settlement, when evaluating the burial customs of Euboea, no site in this locality matches the scale of burials seen at Athens. Therefore, the best approach I have adopted is to evaluate several settlements in Euboea, namely Eretria, Lefkandi, Chalcis, and Oropos (technically on the periphery of Euboea in Attica). These sites (Fig. 19) were chosen as they lie in relative proximity to each other in terms of geography, and the distribution of burials runs the entire length of the PG and Geometric period giving a reasonable basis for comparison to Athenian burials of the same period already examined. The

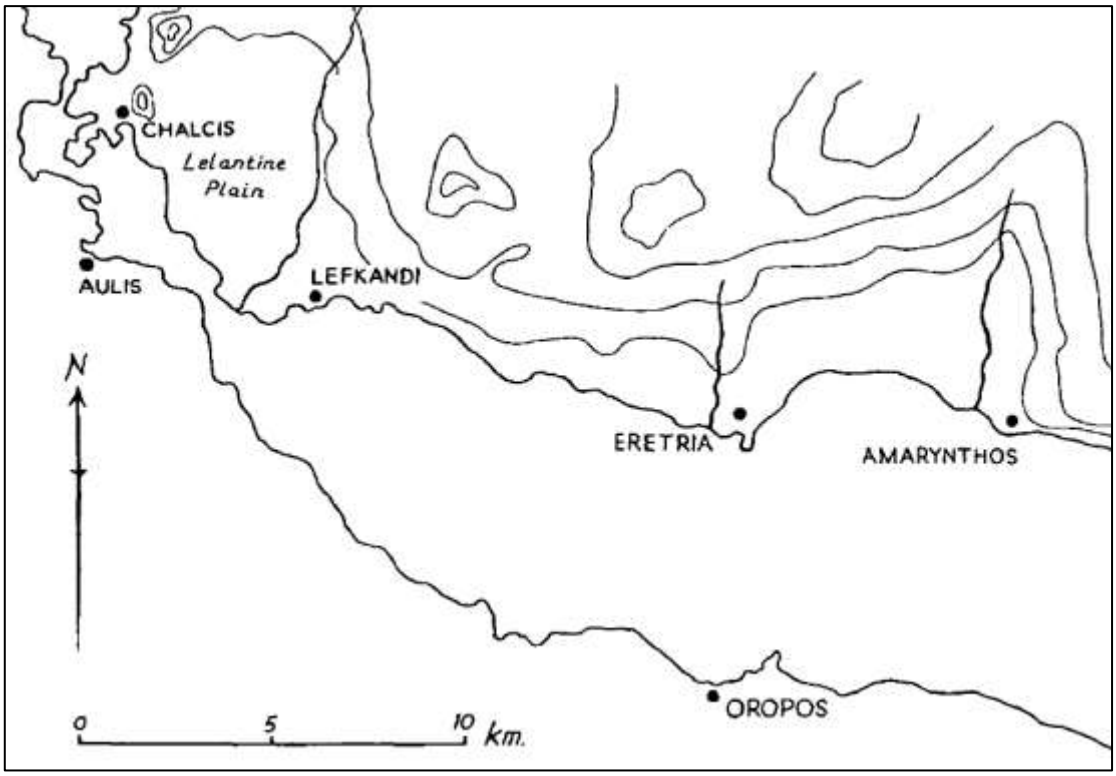


Figure 19: Plan of the straits of Euboea showing Chalcis - Eretria – Lefkandi – Oropos[223]

first three settlements listed are located on the coast of Euboea along the South Euboean Gulf. This strait of the Aegean separates the island from the central Greek

[223] Boardman 1982: 757.

region of Attica and Boeotia. However, the island is closely linked to the mainland, with only 40 metres separating modern Euboea from the mainland at its narrowest point (located at Chalcis).

The site of **Oropos** is situated on the coast of Attica and directly faces the Euboean settlement of Eretria. Whilst this site is technically on the periphery of territory claimed by Athens in later periods, the Parnitha Mountains effectively create a barrier between the site and other settlements in Attica (and even in the Classical period, this site was located beyond the border forts erected).[224] The site operated later than the previous settlements, seeing activity from the MG period only. Given the site's location opposite Eretria and that it was active at the same time, it is not unreasonable to assume a close link between the two, and this will be assessed to evaluate the site in terms of cultural influences and trends. **Lefkandi** exhibits continuous human habitation beginning in the LBA. The site was continuously inhabited from LHIIIC to SPGIII, and additional evidence suggests that the site was also inhabited during the Middle to Late Geometric period. Although numerous excavation volumes exist, only some of the information on the Geometric site has been published. The British School at Athens excavated the site in the late 20th century, and information regarding this site has not been published yet. **Eretria** was occupied from the MG Period onwards. There is some evidence to suggest that the population migrated from Lefkandi to Eretria and other areas on the coastal plain (staggered population shifts seen at Theologos, Malakonda and Magoula) as settlement activity for occupation in Lefkandi dwindles, whilst Eretria at the same time starts to gain ascendancy in terms of population and importance. Reasons for such migratory patterns range from the Lelantine War causing misplacement and population decrease, or migration to the settlement of

[224] Camp 1991: 197, Fig 6.

Pithekoussai also causing a drop in the population. However, it is important to emphasize that whilst such factors are supported in the historical tradition, there is no archaeological evidence for their validity.

Ridgeway suggests that Lefkandi is the site of 'Old Eretria', although this is yet to be confirmed through any demonstrable evidence other than chronological convenience.[225] Eretria is located 15 kilometres west of Lefkandi and housed an important harbour that accounts for the economic growth through trade routes throughout the Mediterranean in the 8th century. The Swiss School of Archaeology in Greece formally excavated the site, and Blandin produced an excavation report in 2007. There is evidence for a settlement at Chalcis from the PG period onwards; however, our knowledge of this site is limited, relying solely on data from various rescue excavations undertaken in the second half of the 20th century. Given the scarcity of information on this settlement, it is difficult to make anything but broad conclusions.

In addition to this, it is important to note that later accounts claim that Chalcis and Eretria engaged in a struggle over the Lelantine plain in the LG/EA period (around 700–650) that was probably not limited just to conflict in Euboea.[226] The date of this war is a contentious point amongst Classists, with Beloch and Trever historically dating the war to the late 7th and early 6th century, respectively.[227] However, more recent scholarship suggests a date of between 710 and 650.[228] However, without firm archaeological evidence, such statements rely more on conjecture or speculation from later textual evidence. Caution must be exercised, with Hall affirming the most prudent

[225] Lemos 2007: 127; Ridgeway 1992:15.
[226] Str. 10.447ff.; *Thuc*. 1.15.3; 1.13.3; *Hdt.5.99;* Arist.*Fr*.98; Hammond 1986: 136. For a critique of these sources, see Bershadsky 2018.
[227] Beloch 1912: 338-339; Trever 1925.
[228] Nagy 2018.

approach: *'In short, we do not know when – or even whether – the Lelantine War occurred'.*[229] It is tempting to see the decline of Lefkandi in the SPG period and the rise of Eretria in the LG period as outcomes of conflict over the Lelantine War, but this cannot be substantiated.[230]

From the 8th to early 5th centuries, Eretria seemed to have exerted control over Oropos on the opposite coast. Language-related similarities existed between Eretria and Oropos, with wider cultic and mythical connections between the two sides of the Gulf. As a final observation, it is possible to see that the different contemporary ceramic styles were deemed a part of the same maritime 'cultural landscape', showing another viable link.[231]

3.2 Lefkandi: General burial trends

The site of Lefkandi consists of 6 burial sites, with only 4 of them excavated so far: The earliest of these cemeteries was located in **Khaliotis field** and is dated to the LHIIIC/SM period, although this cemetery needs further excavation, as only two empty Cist tombs have been found, with possible pyres indicated by surface finds of ash.[232] The earliest systematically excavated cemetery is the **Skoubris Cemetery**, which dates from the SM - EPG periods and consists of 1 secondary cremation (in an amphora vessel) and 63 Inhumations burials (56 Cist Tombs, 3 Shaft Graves, 4 Pit Graves), and 21 pyres.[233] There is a cultural correlation with burial trends in Athens, as inhumation burials were typical for the SM period. The cremation burial at Skoubris

[229] Hall 2007: 84.
[230] Walker 2004: 91.
[231] For the use of the term, see Knapp 1997: 154.
[232] Lemos 2006: 518-519, Themelis 1979: 210; Popham, Sacket & Themelis 1979: 140-141.
[233] Popham, Sackett and Themelis 1979: 103.

can be considered a statistical anomaly compared to the total amount of inhumation burials the site contains.

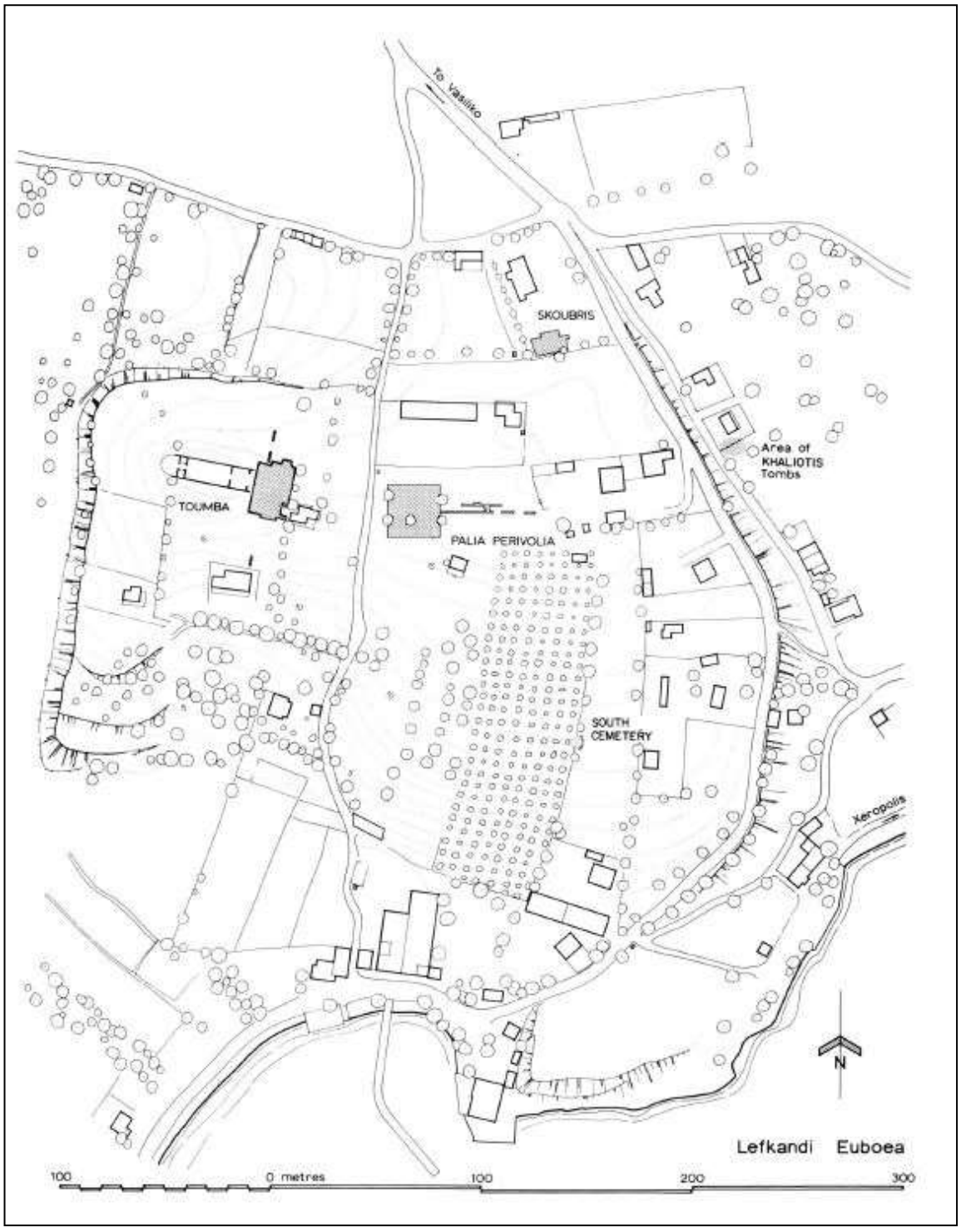


Figure 20: Cemetery area showing the location of the Protogeometric building[234]

[234] Popham *et* al. 1993: Plate 3.

The cemetery of Palia Perivolia dates to a slightly later period, ranging from the MPG to the SPGIII period. In Euboea, the SPG period (SPGI 900 – 875, SPGII 875 – 850, SPGIII 850-750) is equivalent to the EG-LGIb period in Athens (900 – 735), as shown in Fig. 1. Excavations so far have yielded 40 single burials (1 cist grave, 33 rock-cut shafts, 6 shallow pits), and 47 pyres. The site has been thoroughly excavation



Figure 21: Overview of Palia Perivolia[235]

and the layout of this cemetery have been seen to have more regularity than the other excavated sites (see Fig. 21). Adjoining this site is that of the East Cemetery; this site, unlike Palia Perivolia, was not fully explored, with 4 tombs excavated, and 3 pyres identified but not excavated. This site has direct evidence of inhumation, with 2 graves holding bones.[236] The next noteworthy burial site is situated on Toumba Hill (Fig. 20 &

[235] Early Excavations at Lefkandi: The Cemeteries, n.d
[236] Popham & Sackett 1979: 105, Tombs P45 and P47.

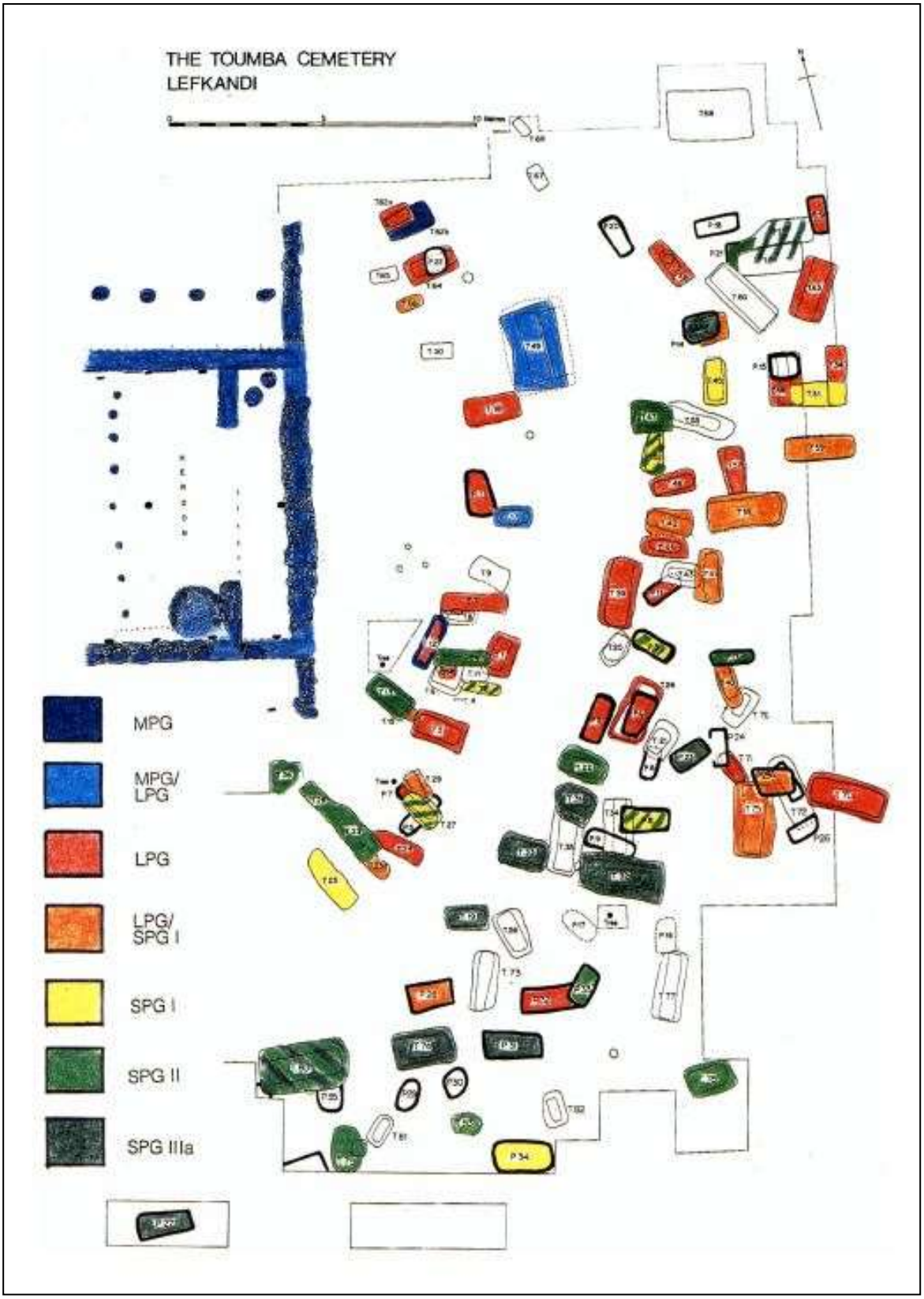


Figure 22: The Toumba Cemetery[237]

[237] Popham 1996: 206.

22). This site encompasses an artificial mound that covers a monumental building (Fig. 24 & 25) often referred to as a '*Heroön*' (for more details, refer to Section 3.2.1). Additionally, an expansive cemetery is positioned next to this mound, extending along the hill's eastern slope. It is situated right in front of the entrance to the Toumba building, and it shares a direct connection with the occupant of the building.[238] The cemetery was established soon after the building's destruction and after the Tumulus had sealed it. The Toumba cemetery was in use from the middle of the 10th century to the end of the 9th century (MPG - SPGIII) and must have belonged to members of the local elite.[239] The Toumba cemetery was discovered during the excavation of Skoubris cemetery when trial trenches were laid on the site. This cemetery holds 83 burials and 34 cremation pyres.[240] Mudbrick is used as tomb lining or blocking walls for several burial sites and for the construction in full of two graves (several others are possible but cannot be strictly classified due to the state of preservation).[241] The layout of this cemetery is in two distinct groupings, with a strip of land in between signifying a contemporary road from the harbour running through the site (see Fig. 22).[242] Shortly after 825, the evidence shows that the cemeteries ceased to be used.

On the site of **Xeropolis**, promontory investigations were carried out in the narrow valley immediately North-East to evaluate the type of soil erosion occurring at the tell and explore the configuration of the historical coastline near Xeropolis.[243] Discovered on this site were two LG intramural graves - an enchytrismos and an inhumation burial, buried amongst the buildings and terraces of the settlement found there (Fig. 23). Given the period, these burials comply with the burial trend at Eretria

[238] Lemos 2002: 140.
[239] Lemos 2007a: 276.
[240] Popham and Lemos 1996.
[241] Sackett 1980: 199.
[242] Popham & Sackett 1979: 105.
[243] Lemos 2007: 126.

and Pithekoussai (an ***entrepôt*** of Euboea on modern Ischia – see *Section 7.1*). Walker states that the origin of Euboean pottery cannot be pinpointed to any one site but to three: Lefkandi, Eretria and Chalcis.[244] The only notable goods belonging to these burials (inhumation burial) were a near eastern seal (signifying trade goods), and the burials themselves represent the first LG burials revealed at Lefkandi so far. There is conjecture that there are more graves to be discovered on this site if adequately investigated, but as this requires additional excavation, it is only speculation at this

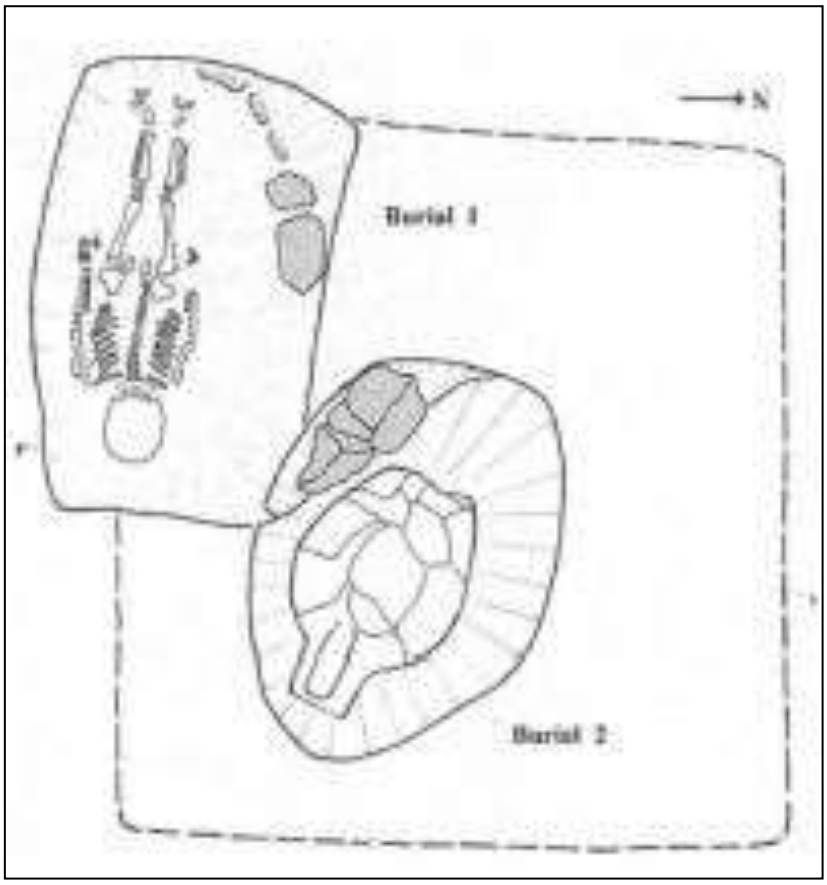


Figure 23: Late Geometric Child Burial[245]

point. While the burial classification practised throughout the PG and GP eras in Athens is evident in the archaeological record, the type of burial practices at Lefkandi is not straightforward, and the evidence for the types of burial is unclear. The initial

[244] Walker 2004: 83.
[245] Lemos 2012: Figure 3.

excavation report proposed three scenarios for burials at Lefkandi: i) The dominant burial type was inhumation, but due to environmental factors, the majority of remains in-situ deteriorated because of ground conditions and did not survive; ii) The burials that occurred contained only a token number of bones from the cremation pyres; or iii) The gravesites were empty and only acted as cenotaphs. The excavation report determined the second scenario to be the most likely. The first scenario was ruled out because some graves still contain articulate remains while others show no signs of burial, suggesting a complex formalisation pattern that is difficult to assess. The third scenario is also ruled out because it is unlikely that all cemeteries contain cenotaph graves, while the second is more believable, given the paucity of evidence.[246] To add weight to this interpretation, the excavators drew on examples from Vergina and Assarlik, where similar burial rites were practised.[247] The excavators suggest that the burial consisted of 2 stages: stage 1 - primary cremation, with the actual burial taking place within the pyre plots; and stage 2, a small number of bones were lifted from the pyre and placed in a shaft grave as a token burial site. To support this theory, they draw upon the fact there are few examples of inhumations in shaft graves and that secondary cremations are rare. There is only explicit evidence for six inhumation burials, three from the East cemetery and 3 from the Toumba Cemetery (inhumation graves: T12, T26, T49. P47, P45) with evidence for a wooden coffin in T21.[248] The only cremations found are four examples of Attic style trench-and-hole style 'secondary' cremations in both the Skoubris and Toumba cemetery, with those buried being styled as immigrants or traders.[249] Since the publication of *Lefkandi I* in 1979, further excavation has been carried out on the cemetery, and an analysis of the soil

[246] Beeby 2013: 38; Themelis 1979: 211.
[247] Themelis 1979: 211-213.
[248] Ibid., 1980: 211.
[249] Popham, Sacket and Themelis 1979: 200; 210 Lemos 2002: 219; Tombs S5, T14.1, T14.2, T19.

suggests that conventional inhumation may now have been practised. More human remains are still being found (still relatively limited compared to the number of graves). Lemos suggests that the corrosive effect of the soil has been underestimated (perhaps a chemical dissolution was initiated through exposure to water rather than acidity in the soil) with a case for inhumation to be made as the dominant practice, not cremation.[250] However, given the scarcity of evidence for either practice, it cannot be ruled out that some cremation burials took place, possibly accounting for 10% of all burials.[251] Where bone fragments are found (in S10, S16, S17, S19, S36, S51, S53, S59, S62, and S63), they are found in small quantities (millimetres) and usually adjoined to metal objects, which accounts for their method of preservation.[252] Given the state of evidence and the number of empty tombs, a complicated burial rite may still be likely.[253]

Given the complexity of identifying burial types at this site, it is nearly impossible to identify sex and age based on anything other than burial goods. Similar to Athens, male burials are exemplified by the presence of weapons and tools. Female burials, also like Athens, are indicated by the presence of coarse pots, spindle whorls, kalathoi, belly-handled amphorae, dress pins and jewellery. In contrast to those graves that can be sexed, given the burial conditions, most burial plots lack the artefacts to attribute gender to them.[254] Examining all the published reports, there are only 12 burial plots attributed to female burials (from Palia Perivolia - P3, P22, P39; from Skoubris S33, S45, S59; from Toumba - T2, T14, T28, T63, T70, T80). Conversely, 11 burial plots can be attributed to male burials (3 from Palia Perivolia - P13, P16, P31; 1 from

[250] Beeby 2013: 41-42.
[251] Lemos 1998: Paragraph 46
[252] Themelis 1979: 211.
[253] Lemos 2002: 162.
[254] Sackett 1980: 205-6.

Skoubris – S46; 7 from Toumba T3, T7, T14, T18, T26 T50 T58).[255] In addition, child graves are indicated by feeding bottles and miniature vessels and are more numerous, equating to 29 burial plots (11 from Pelia Perivolia P9, P10, P14, P15, P25B, P26, P35, P36, P39A, P44, P46; 5 from Skoubris - S2, S28, S43, S44, S60; 11 from Toumba - T5, T13, T15, T17, T19, T22, T31, T33, T36, T44, T49A; and 2 from Xeropolis Hill – X1, X2).[256]

3.2.1 Toumba Building

Lefkandi is best known for its MPG funerary structure (Fig. 24 & 25). This building is comparable to the 'sacred' house of the academy, the Geometric oval building and the edifice at Herakleidon Street in Athens, already examined in Section 2.5. They are similar in that they are large structures containing burials located in a cemetery and that they are part of a larger framework of burial practices that may also represent customs ascertaining to status and honour, reflecting the mindset of the cultural zeitgeist, giving insight into elite society at Lefkandi and wider Euboea. Since its excavation, the Toumba building has emerged as a prevalent element in most studies of the period, owing to its distinctive characteristics and the insights it can provide into Heroic burials, monumental architecture, and grave goods. It serves as a valuable resource to emphasise the distinctiveness and mystique of the EIA, particularly in the context of Euboea. To preface the archaeology examined at this burial site, it must be highlighted that the owner of the land plot, before the building was excavator, had partially bulldozed the area, levelling a large amount of land with a probable loss of one-third of the data, so whilst the excavation data is extensive it is

[255] Ibid., 1980: 204.
[256] Sackett 1980: 202-4; Lemos 2012: 160.

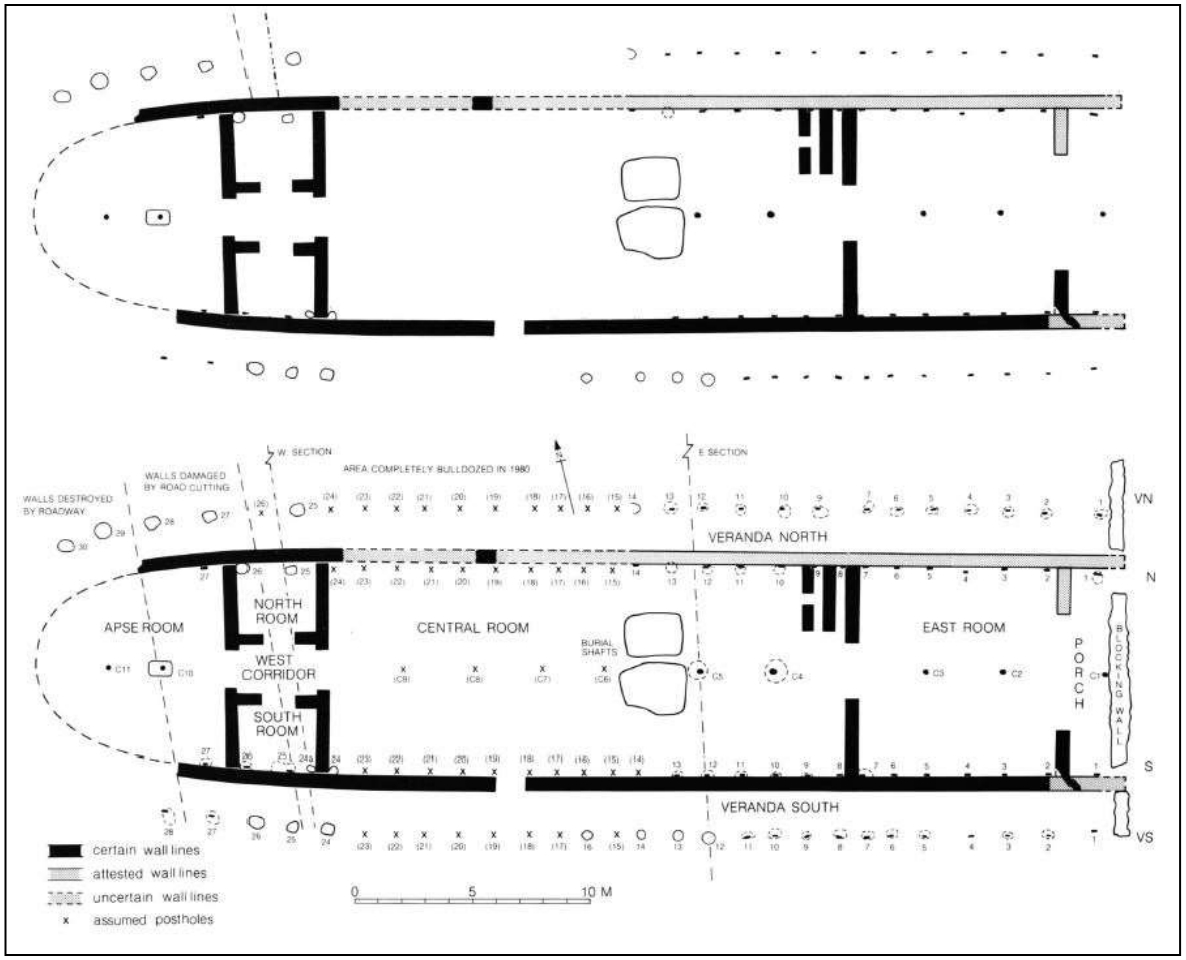


Figure 24: Schematic of the Toumba Building[257]

not a complete picture. The building measures 47 metres x 10 metres and faces east towards the later-situated Toumba Cemetery. The edifice is a multi-room building comprising a porch, a large rectangular room (containing no domestic finds) and a central area containing a hearth, and it was at this location where two burial remains were found. The building also had a peaked room, probably a loft platform, and evidence suggests the exterior was surrounded by a veranda (except on its east side).[258] The western end of the building is not very well preserved, but what does remain suggests the existence of an elliptical apse containing two rooms used as storage areas - as indicated by the remains of ceramic wares for food and liquid (Fig.

[257] Popham *et* al. 1993: Plate 5.
[258] Mazarakis-Ainian 1997a:49-50.

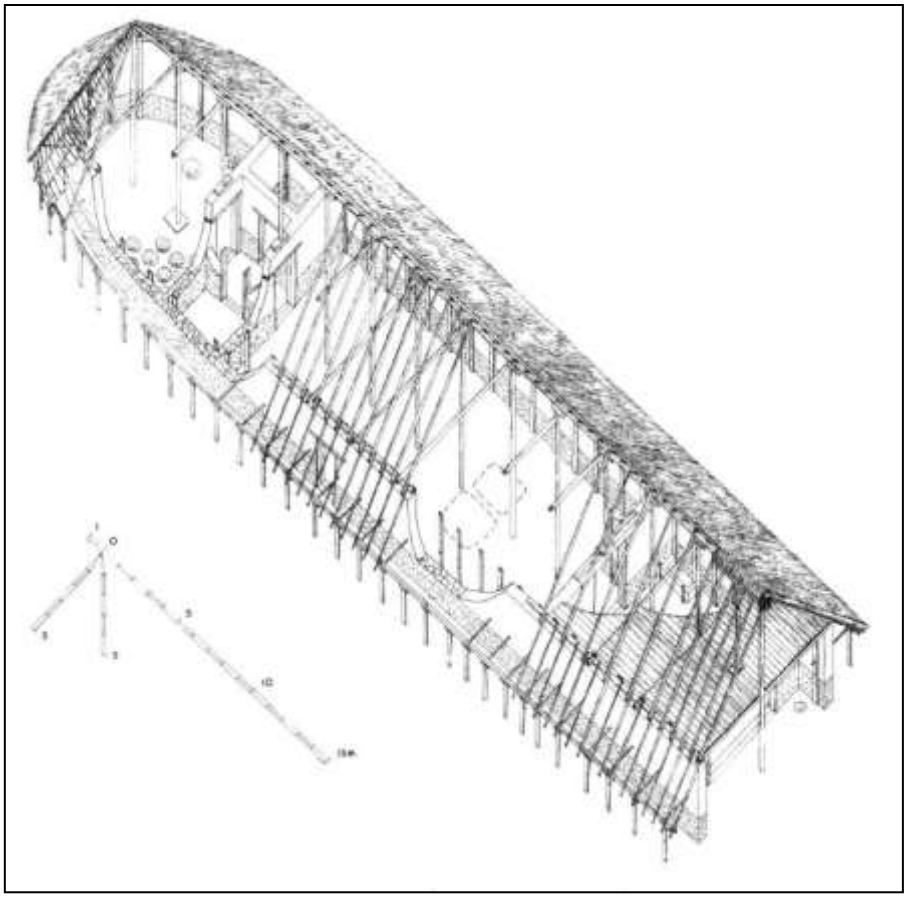


Figure 25: Axonometric Diagram of the Toumba Building[259]

26).[260] The building was built on a roughly cut polygonal stone foundation and comprised a mudbrick superstructure. The floor within the structure was comprised of natural clay, except the central room, which seemingly had a layer of organic material that the excavators surmised was the remains of a thatched roof. An axial wooden colonnade pitched and supported this roof (Fig. 25).[261] The plan of the building resembles an apsidal megaron house from the Middle Bronze Age in its basic internal layout, looking forward to the archaic peristyle, whilst the overall aesthetic has been likened to a European longhouse.[262] The building, upon dismantling, was covered with a mound that measured approximately 50 metres in diameter.[263] Inside the

[259] Ibid., Plate 28.
[260] Mureddu 2016:103.
[261] Mazarakis-Ainian 1997a: 49-50.
[262] Herdt 2015: 210.
[263] Ault 2016: 661-2.

structure are two burial shafts, with the closest to the south wall featuring a double burial, one inhumation burial and one cremation burial, respectively, a female aged 25

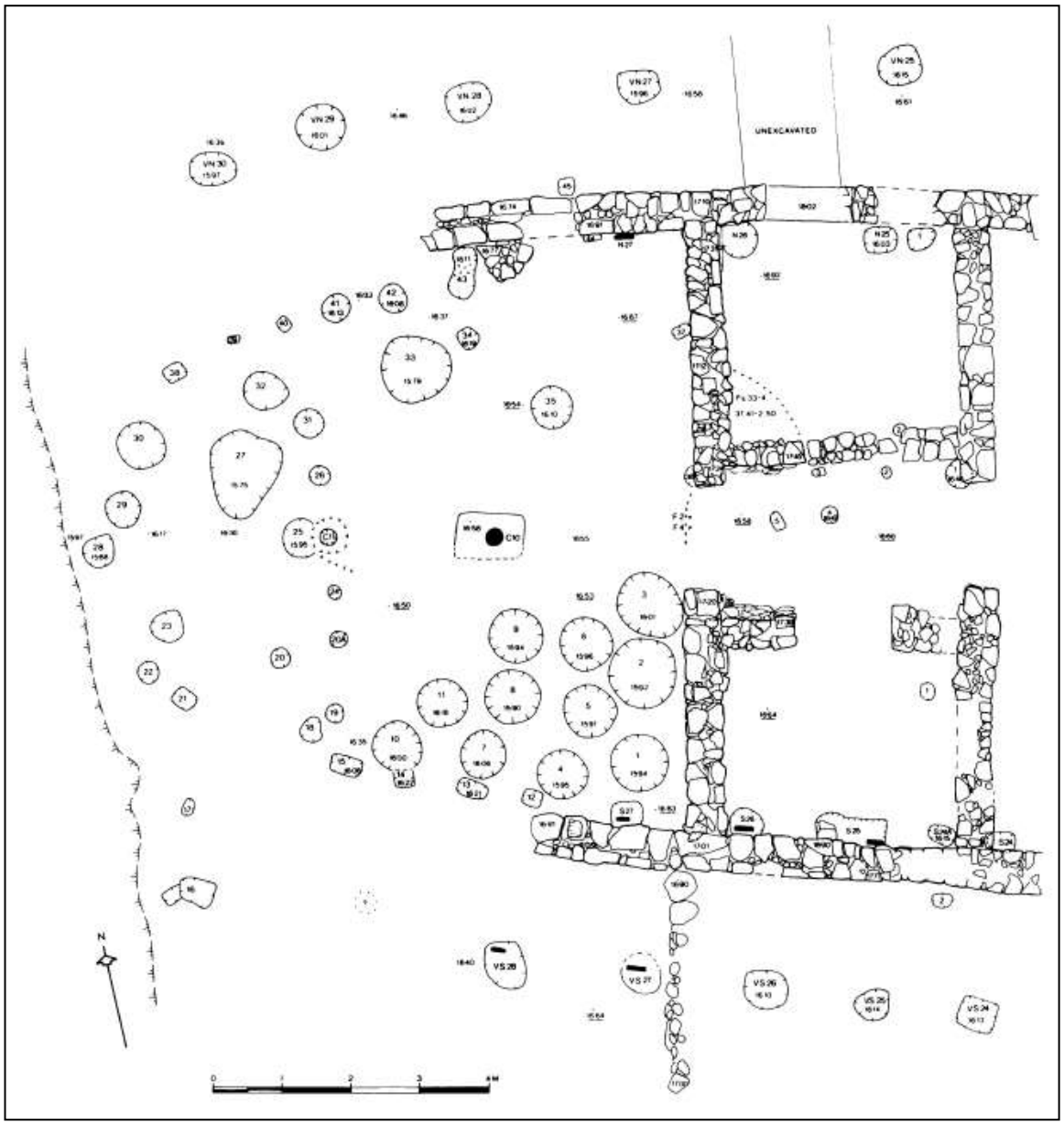


Figure 26: Detailed plan of Apse Room, W. Corridor and N. S. Rooms Scale 1:100[264]

- 30 years old, and a male aged 30 - 45 years old (Fig. 28).[265] The male remains were cremated and placed in a 12th-century Cypriot bronze amphoroid krater (likely a family

[264] Popham *et* al. 1993: Plate 23.
[265] Mazarakis-Ainian 1997a: 56.

heirloom), which was highly decorated with a figured scene of archers hunting animals (Fig. 27).[266]



Figure 27: Cypriot bronze krater[267]

Inside, neatly folded and stored, was a rectangular sheet of linen, sewed up the sides, in perfect shape. It was constructed with plain weave, and the surplus threads from the borders formed fringes along a big portion of it. The clothing set was completed by decorative bands with intertwined geometric motifs.[268] The burial urn was covered by a bronze bowl and was surrounded by the finds of 26 weapons, such as a sword, spearhead, razor, and whetstone. The excavators identified the deceased as a warrior due to the proximity of weapons as grave goods.[269] The weapons here were ritually killed (Fig. 95), drawing parallels to grave D16:4 at Athens.[270]

[266] Antonaccio 1995: 237-238.
[267] The Lefkandi Textile Study Program - National Archaeological Museum, n.d.
[268] See n. 265.
[269] Popham 1993: 19, Crielaard & Driessen 1994: 257.
[270] Papadopoulos 2017: 104-118.

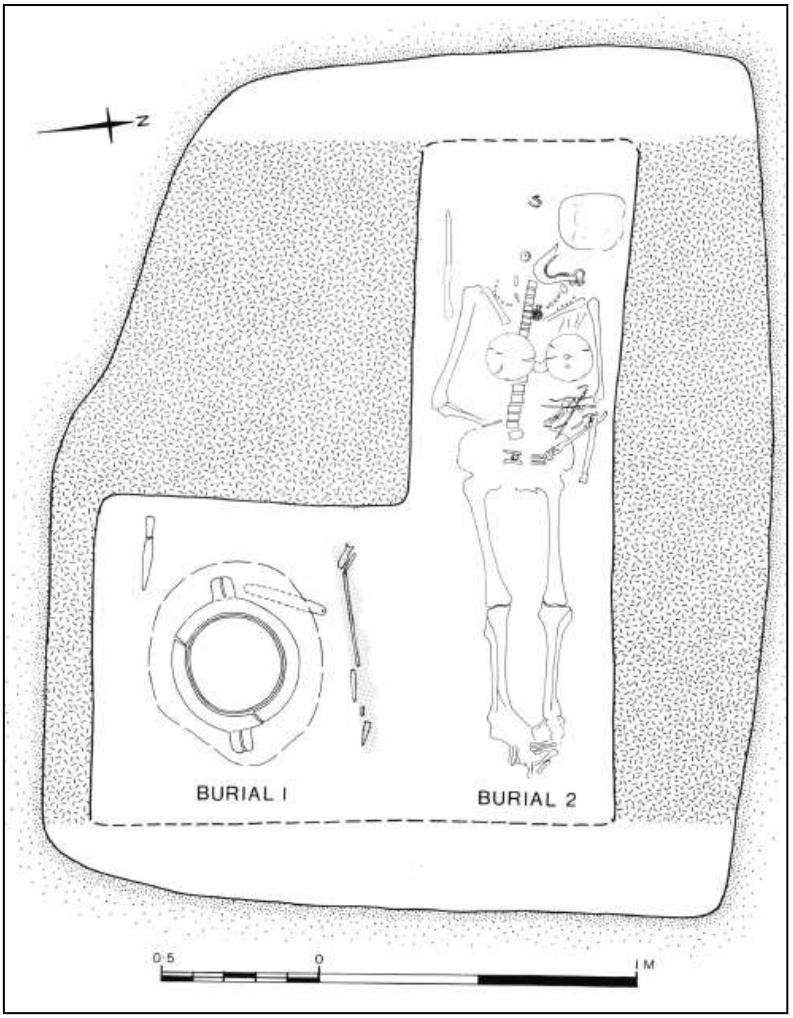


Figure 28: Central Room, plan of the burial in the South Shaft[271]

Underneath the clay flooring of the Toumba building post-holes and traces of burning were found which indicates the location of a funerary pyre. Above the floor to the south of the burials in the lower fill of the building were found the remains of a huge Krater, which could conceivably be a burial *sema* or a cult vessel depending on the overall determination of the buildings function (to be discussed further on in this section). The remains of the female were laid in an inhumation burial orientated east to west, with her body laid in an extended position with her hands crossed on her pelvis and her feet crossed together at the ankles (Fig. 28). Her person was adorned with lavish grave

[271] Popham *et* al. 1993: Plate 13.

goods, including gold earrings, a necklace of gold faïence and crystal, a gold pendant, and sheet gold disks placed over her breasts, as well as an iron knife adorned with an ivory handle laid at her side.[272] The position the woman occupied in PG Euboean elite society is uncertain, with opinion divided whether she was the ruler's wife,[273] or a sacrificial victim, as the crossed feet of her remains may suggest that she was bound.[274] The second shaft contains the unusual find of four sacrificial horses (with iron bits in their mouths), which may tie into the iconography of Euboean nobility as elite horsemen and, therefore, part of the funerary display of status objects (Fig. 29). When compared to burials in Athens for the same period there seems to be a cultural correlation regarding the type of goods buried. The male occupant of the building was cremated and placed in an urn in a pit similar to the trench and hole burials of the PG Kerameikos cemetery in Athens. The female was inhumed, and it may be that, like the goods which adorned her tomb, she was considered a funeral gift, given that she was not accorded the same cremation burial but inhumed, which is a more straightforward burial in terms of practicality.

The primary debate regarding the building is determining its overall purpose: *heroön* or dwelling later turned funerary monument? This is a complex issue as there is both compelling evidence for either scenario, and the chronology of the space as an architectural building and as a funerary monument cannot be established with any confidence; I will nevertheless outline the evidence for both.[275] Mazarakis-Ainian succinctly presents the evidence supporting the building's identification as a dwelling through the following points: i) The sacrifices conducted beneath the clay floor were likely foundation sacrifices. ii) Analysis of the building's floor indicates that the burial

[272] Popham, Touloupa & Sackett 1982: 172.
[273] Mazarakis-Ainian 1997a: 56.
[274] Driessen 1994: 253; Thomas and Conant 1999: 95-96.
[275] Popham 1993: 99.

pits were excavated after the installation of the clay floor. iii) The building layout implies a residential purpose rather than a funerary one, a notion reinforced by storage space in the western apse. Mazarakis-Ainian concludes that it is likely that the building was constructed for use as a typical elite dwelling and saw some contemporary use as a domestic, civic and religious site (as per the usual functions of other contemporary

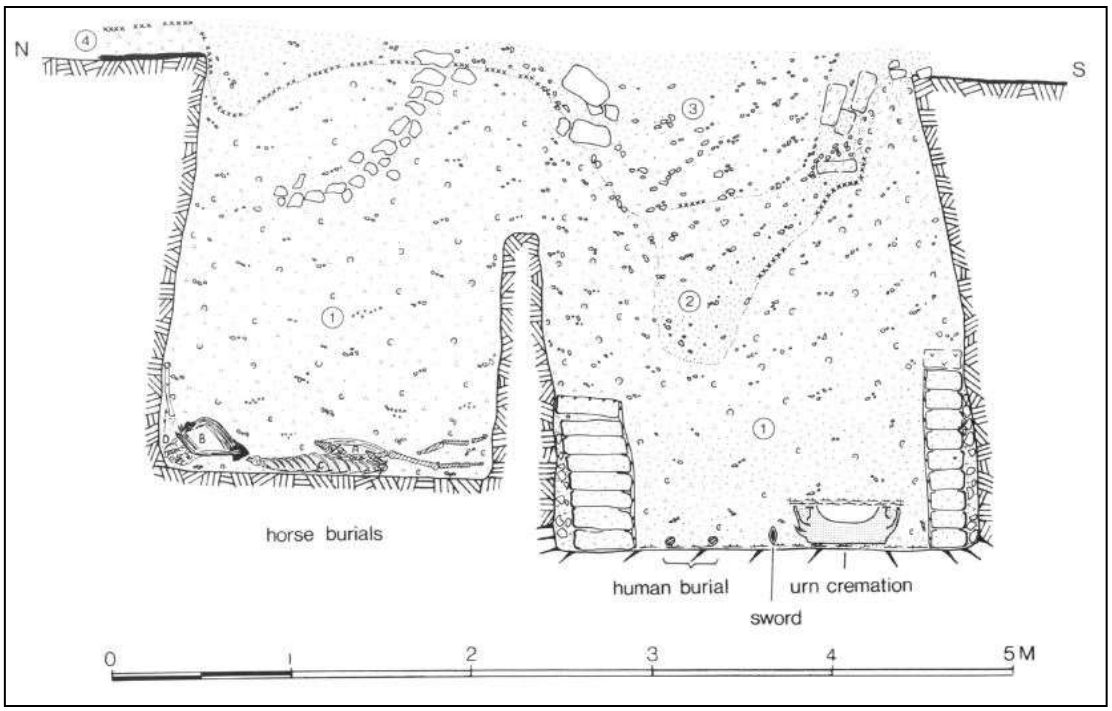


Figure 29: Central Room, N-S Section of burial shafts[276]

large elite dwellings of this period).[277] According to this interpretation, the building would have been dismantled upon the death of both occupants (whether this was simultaneously or happened separately over a few years is moot). While the evidence remains ambiguous, this interpretation is mostly straightforward. However, relying on it makes it challenging to deduce much about the intricacies of proto-Greek religion or the nuances of eschatological ideas. On the other hand, some of the evidence supporting the building's identity as a *heroön* or as a replica of a princely residence for the deceased is equally compelling: i) All activity within the building seems confined to

[276] Popham *et* al. 1993: Plate 12.
[277] Mazarakis 1997: 54-55.

the burial of the deceased, with limited indications of domestic use. ii) The positioning of the central columns of the building appears to consider the existing burials (although this could be coincidental). iii) The building stands in isolation within an area lacking domestic dwellings and is reserved exclusively for later burials. iv) A grey layer covers the entire building floor, extending over the grave shafts. v) The discovery of a massive Krater on the surface of the central room raises the possibility of its use in a post-burial ritual. This Krater was found shattered (a product of bull-dozing by the plot owner), but its reconstruction suggests that it measures 0.88 metres in diameter and ca. 0.80 metres in height.[278] However, it is worth noting that it is hard to distinguish whether any burial rituals were sustained over a long period or if the vessel had a one-time use, such as the funerary rituals for the deceased in situ; it may well be that the vessel was just a high-status domestic vessel used for civic rituals that were buried along with the building. vi) Additional observations made by Driessen show that the stylistic homogeneity of the pottery suggests that the structure was only occupied for a brief time during the MPG period, showing short-term use of the building.[279] The main criticism of this interpretation is that, if the building was a *heroön*, there is no evidence of post-burial ritual activity, and objects absent such as votive offerings or sacrifices, in the archaeological record.[280] The only sure conclusion is that the building ended up as a funerary space for the Toumba cemetery and that this attests to the special status of the building as it was a marker giving the Tumulus' elevation in the landscape.

[278] Antonaccio 1995: 238.
[279] Driessen 1994: 253.
[280] Antonaccio 1995: 237-247ff.

3.2.2 Lefkandi: Burial and Social Status

At Athens, with cremation display, there was a formalisation of the funerary process (see *Section 2.2*), with this process focusing more on the method of burial and the rituals surrounding it than the wealth that was displayed. At Lefkandi, the burial process seems to be less formal and the process less rigid, with displays of wealth used more to highlight social differences only, which some scholars argue is the result of political change (a change from the rule of a chief or *Basileus*, to the rule of an oligarchy or powerful elite group - the *'Hippobotai'*).[281] In terms of wealth in the PG and Geometric periods, the Toumba cemetery, when compared to Palia Perivolia or Skoubris, contains multiple graves with considerable amounts of high-status goods. Palia Perivolia, for example, has only 2 tombs displaying any significant wealth (P22 and P47), a situation mirrored at Skoubris with just 2 wealthy tombs (S45 and S59A). The items found in these tombs, while notable, are comparatively modest when contrasted with those at Toumba. In the Toumba cemetery, 27 tombs contain gold or imported artifacts including T3, T5, T13, T15, T22, T27, T31, T32, T33, T36, T38, T39, T40, T42, T47, T48, T49A, T51, T52, T54, T55A, T59, T63, T70, T74, T78, and T80.[282] Moreover, the offerings of gold rings, necklaces, faience, glass, and bronze bowls, indicate that the site still had considerable material prosperity.[283] From this, it can be hypothesised that for the ruling elite at Lefkandi, competition regarding grave goods was the metric for measuring social status amongst social peers.[284]

Another factor potentially influencing the evolution of burial practices in Lefkandi is the spatial arrangement of both Lefkandi itself and Athens as settlements. In the EIA, Athens consisted of small villages or hamlets likely consisting of groups of various

[281] Lemos 2006: 521, Arnheim 1977: 54 drawing on Hdt.5.77.
[282] Popham *et* al. 1979; 1996.
[283] Walker 2004: 82.
[284] Lemos 2006: 526.

kin groups or clans. The leaders of these settlements held similar status among their nearby neighbours. Consequently, the emphasis lay on the nature of the funerary rite rather than the specific items designated as offerings. This focus on funerary practices contributed to social cohesion and harmonised with the prevailing face-to-face (honour-bound) ethos prevalent in society. At Lefkandi, where there seemed to be only two areas of settlement, the emphasis was different to Athens and focused on the actual burial, the competition was probably more rigorous amongst elites as the cemeteries probably contained members of the same kin groups.[285]

3.2.3 Lefkandi: Disappearance of burials

Shortly after 825, the cemeteries ceased to be used. There was likely a disaster, possibly a fire (this hypothesis is drawn from the excavation of an 8th century house), with the excavators speculating that this resulted in a severe population dislocation.[286] The abandonment of the Lefkandi cemeteries and the partial or complete destruction of the town may indicate a decline in power for the landowning ruling class (those that interred their dead next to the *heroön* in the Toumba cemetery). An examination of the stylistic habits of the local pottery supports this. Consequently, burial probably now occurred in more domestic spheres than in any collective cemetery. The disappearance of artisans may result from a re-location to Eretria and or Pithekoussai in SPGII/EGI, as both sites grew in prominence after the decline (see Section 3.3, 3.3.1 and 7.1, respectively).[287] Overpopulation can certainly be ruled out as a cause for a shift in locality by the populous, as the number of burials within the cemeteries remains stable, with no spikes in numbers recorded for any given

[285] Ibid., 526.
[286] Auberson 1975: 9-12.
[287] Walker 2004: 83.

chronological period. The later LG burials on Xeropolis Hill undoubtedly imply that intramural burials had taken place, but more excavation is required to confirm this burial pattern.

3.3 Eretria: General Burial Trends

The site of Eretria consists of over 21 individual burial plots containing over 95 graves (according to the excavation reports), with 4 sites meeting the criteria of an organised cemetery that is systematic burials over a prolonged period. In addition to this Eretria consisted of several dispersed habitation nuclei showing the settlement was not clustered in its layout.[288] However, the excavation volume released in 2007 by the Swiss School of Archaeology in Greece has challenged the theory's validity.[289] This publication asserts that the theory is outdated due to additional organised cemeteries within the settlement. Moreover, the volume documents cases of individual grave plots situated near or within the West Gate Cemetery and the West Cemetery. Notably, these two cemeteries had previously been classified as elite and non-elite cemeteries, respectively, based on excavation reports.[290] The main characteristic of the burials at Eretria is the uneven but widespread distribution of burial sites in use, with dates ranging from the SPG period to the SubG period, which rules out an applied statistical analysis. It will therefore be possible to make comparisons to both the neighbouring sites of Lefkandi and Oropos, as well as further afield as Pithekoussai in southern Italy, with these sites also showing parallels comparable to the diversity in burial rites on Euboea as a whole. The earliest recorded burial finds for Eretria date to

[288] Brouwers 2010: 42.
[289] Blandin 2007a, 2007b .
[290] Blandin 2007b: 173.

the **SPGIII period** with evidence of burial paraphernalia located on two sites, OT 740 (Fig. 30) located near the *'Maison Aux Mosaiques'*, and a burial found at the site of

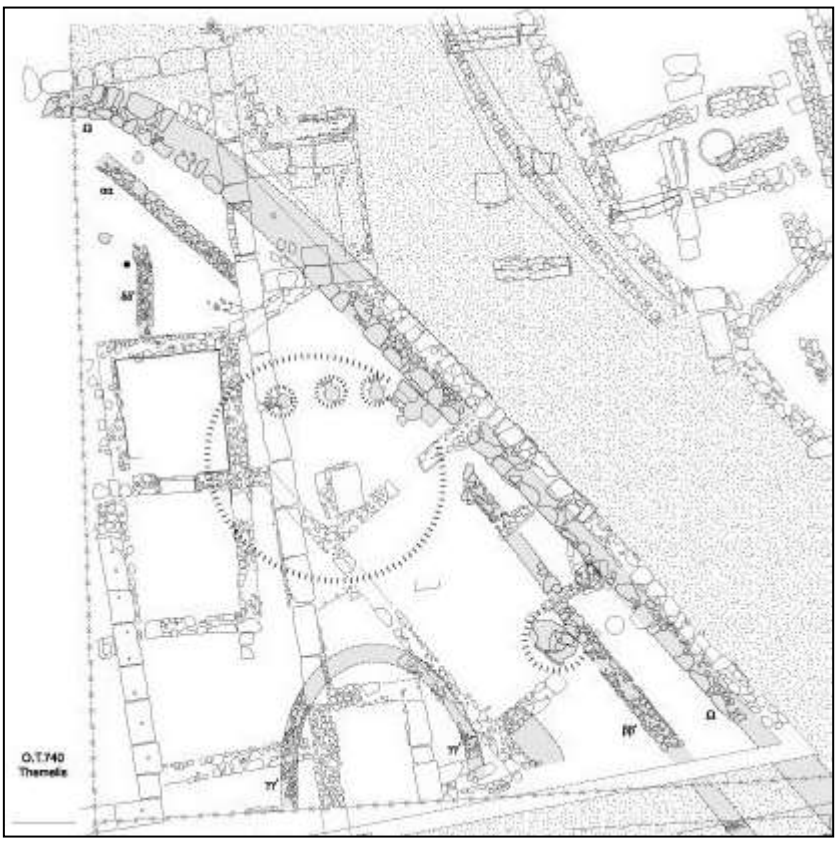


Figure 30: OT 740 plot, Eretria[291]

the Sanctuary of Apollo Daphnephoros. The burial discovered in plot OT 740 was initially discovered in 1976 by P.G. Themelis, who found an amphoriskos dating to SPGII (equating to Attic EGII period circa 875-800 – see Fig. 1) which originated from a grave context, Themelis concluded that the vessel was washed away from its original place of internment by 'violent rainfall during the LG period'.[292] Since scattered SPG sherds have also been found in several areas of the modern city, this object correlates to the earliest known occupation phase, even if the sherds cannot be associated with any specific architectural remains.[293]

[291] Morgan 2008.
[292] Themelis 1976: 75-76, pl.39a; 1982: 168 cited in Mazarakis-Ainian 1987: 3, n.1.
[293] Mazarakis-Ainian 1987: 3.

An altar from the MGII period has been found in the sanctuary, with evidence of burnt animal bones (identified as sheep and goat bones). A possible leader's dwelling is located in the sanctuary (Building A), which complies with what is known of civic architecture for this period, with building such as this acting as a quasi-religious and communal abode.[294] The second burial that dates to this period was a cremation grave in the vicinity of the sanctuary of Apollo. This plot is only partially excavated, and there are no further grave contexts found on this plot for this period.[295] The grave contained a layer of coals and ashes that lined the bottom of the excavation trench, along with the calcined bones of the deceased, 5 ceramic vessels, and fragments of an iron sword. The vessels were found in several places: in the embankment of the pit, some 20cm above the black layer, and among the charred remains of the pyre, suggesting that they were both burnt as grave goods as well as debris from the burial or commemorative rituals practised.[296] It is not until the MG period that a trend can be established regarding burial contexts, with 14 graves assigned to this chronological period. With 12 'primary' cremations documented, these sites demonstrate that cremation remained the predominant method of interment. However, other burials are beginning to be used throughout this period, indicating that the population is becoming more diverse (a secondary cremation and an inhumation burial). Similar to Athens during the same period, cremation is the predominant ritual; however, the distinction is broken by the primary cremations, as opposed to Athens' secondary cremation burials (see *Section 2.2*). What is crucial, though, is that family cemeteries or organised cemeteries are beginning to replace intramural burials scattered around homes. The MG phase is when this begins, and it lasts through the LG and EA periods.

[294] Fox 2012: Table 5.3; Mazarakis-Ainian 1997: 271.
[295] Blandin 2007a: 91-92.
[296] Blandin 2007a: 91-92.

The pattern and distribution of burials seem to correspond to the development of the settlement, with burials moving centrifugally following the expansion of the area into something recognisable as a *polis* in the proceeding Archaic period.[297]

In burials that date to the period of transition between SubIII to LG, there is a shift in terms of numbers for primary Cremation burials, with more inhumation burials being recorded. Further, in the same transitional period, child burials become archaeologically visible, with 9 *enchytrismoi* burials found (2 burials in the Eratonymou plot and 7 burials in the Rousso plot). This trend is further accelerated in the LG period, where there are a total of 35 *enchytrismoi* burials found, with entire burial sites dedicated to this practice (See Rousso plot, OT 29β plot, as well as individual burial sites); however, given the conditions of many of the burials, only 7 *enchytrismoi* burials can be attributed to children graves (*la Maison aux mosaïques* Tomb 2; Rousso Plot Tomb 2, 4, 8 & 10; SW Tor plot Tomb 1; OT 97 Tomb 2; OT 205 Tomb 1 – See Fig. 31).[298] The excavators interpret *enchytrismoi* burials as people who were recognised formally as members of the community but whose young age denotes that they had no status or standing. This can attribute to why they were buried intramurally and not given a formal grave and funerary rites, that is, until the MG-LG period when all this changed. Their burials were physically located away from households, possibly reflecting a shift in cultural perceptions of death and burial; the visibility also reflects the population growth. The visibility of children in this period is similar to that of Athens and Attica. It may also reflect events happening in the *settlement* due to social and economic changes (which may or may not have a link to the Lelantine War). Further to this trend, in the LG period, inhumations graves and cremation burials (both primary

[297] Ibid., 173.
[298] Ibid., 96-101.

and secondary) have been found (Inhumation Graves: *Heroön* Tombs 10, 11, 12, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 23; Rousso Plot, Tomb 1; OT 407 Tomb 1; OT 740 Tomb 1 &

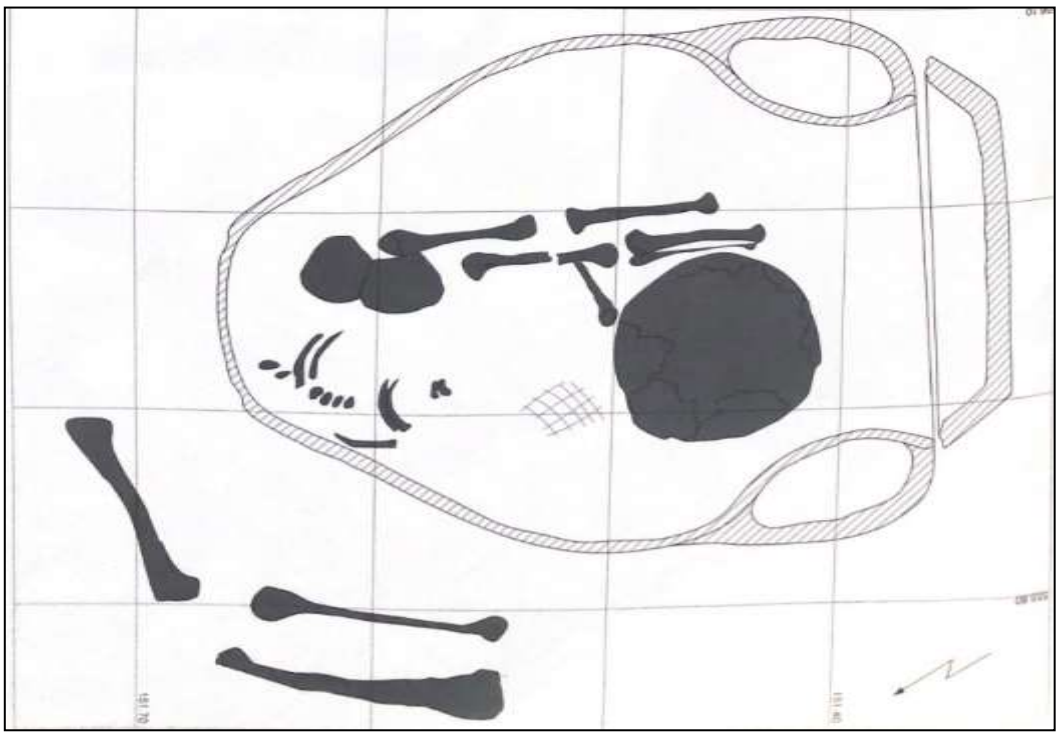


Figure 31: Eretria, Rousso plot, Tomb 8[299]

7). Cremation Graves (Primary): *Heroön* Cemetery Tomb 1, 2 and a burial which is out of context, and a non-ceramic vessel located in a pyre; Verdelis Plot Tomb1; OT 107 – Tomb 1. Cremation Graves (Secondary): *Heroön* Cemetery – Tombs 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 13 and Kanari Plot Tomb 1.[300] To co-inside with this, a specialised form of amphorae has been found and was manufactured mainly located in the West Cemetery (Hygeionomeion Cemetery– see section 3.3.1). The production of this type of amphorae continued until the late Archaic period. Enchytrismoi vessels at Eretria, from the LG to the EA period, utilised ceramic vessels (primarily amphorae) made from coarse and fine materials. This contrasts with the vessels of the subsequent 7th and 6th centuries, during which finer materials were predominantly employed.[301] Examples

[299] Ibid., 289, plate 156.1.
[300] Blandin 2007b.
[301] Charalampidou 2017a.

of coarse ware with incised decoration are dated mainly to the late 8th century and the first decades of the 7th century. The fine wheel-made 'subgeometric' amphorae, Boardman's Groups A and B, are dated between 710/700 - 650/640, with the subsequent sequences dating to the mid to late Archaic period (outside the scope of this thesis).[302]

3.3.1 Eretria: Significant Burial Sites

On the site of Eretria, several burial plots house multiple burials across different chronological sub-eras that characterise this period. In this section, I will dissect several of the large burial sites analysing the mortuary features of these burials and commentating on their relevance to the cultural trend of the settlement.

The West Gate Cemetery contains at least 6 secondary cremations and 11 inhumations, with burials spanning the LG and SubG periods (720 – 690). The secondary cremations are noted due to the use of a bronze urn (6 or 7 in total) in carefully constructed pits containing a box formed of stone slabs measuring 1.6 metres x 0.8 metres.[303] Pyres are found at a distance from the tombs. Out of these burials, 4 contained weapons, including 4 killed swords, 5 iron spearheads, and a bronze spearhead. According to the anthropological analysis of the excavators, this suggests that the occupants were male[304] Tomb 6 is also considered to be the earliest grave in this burial site and the most prominent as it was furnished with a Phoenician double scarab of serpentine and a total of ten weapons, including a *skeptron* – a sphere of the Mycenaean period that was initially interpreted as the sceptre of the dead.[305]

[302] Boardman 1952: 16-20.
[303] Crielaard 2007: 170.
[304] Blandin 2007b:2, 43-5, Lloyd 2014: 35.
[305] Vlachou 2012: 372-3; Mazarakis-Ainian 1997: 61.

Also, the calcinated bones found in this burial were wrapped in cloth before being placed in the burial urn.[306] The burials stop in the SubG period in 680. A triangular structure was constructed, initially interpreted as a *Heroön* (to the occupant of Tomb 6) by the excavators (possibly also housing an altar to a chthonic deity, whom Léderrey identifies as Hekate-Enodia` who following her description in Hesiod is a universally popular goddess).[307]

The triangular structure consists of roughly worked and differently sized stone blocks of a maximum of 1.2 x 1.2 metres (Fig. 32). The sides are approximately 9 m long and form an equilateral triangle. The triangle ends are pointed, and the angles between the sides are, as the standard for an equilateral triangle at 60 degrees (similar to the later Triangular structure in Athens). Research by Bérard, Antonaccio, and Léderrey suggests that the structure was more likely a collective *sema*.[308] The monument saw ritual feasting or sacrifice, with remains of ash, carbonised wood, fragments of animal bone and shells, as well as burnt ceramic sherds in Tombs 9, 15, 17, and 23.[309] The inhumations buried here demonstrate just how the funerary customs of Eretria changed regarding the status of children, which involved separating deceased children from their household environment. This burial site was most likely used by a family clan, one of the elite families of Eretria.[310] Crielaard notes that the original excavator, Kourouniotis found 4 gold bands in the principal graves of this cemetery. Crielaard parallels the gold bands in the Toumba Cemetery at Lefkandi (Section 3.2) with those discovered in EG Athens.[311]

[306] Blandin 2007b: 22.
[307] Léderrey 2018: 8; Hesiod *Th.411-452*.
[308] Léderrey 2018: 11; Antonaccio 1995: 230; Bérard 1970: 56-64.
[309] Blandin 2007b: 175.
[310] Ibid., 170-171.
[311] Ibid., 173, n.14.

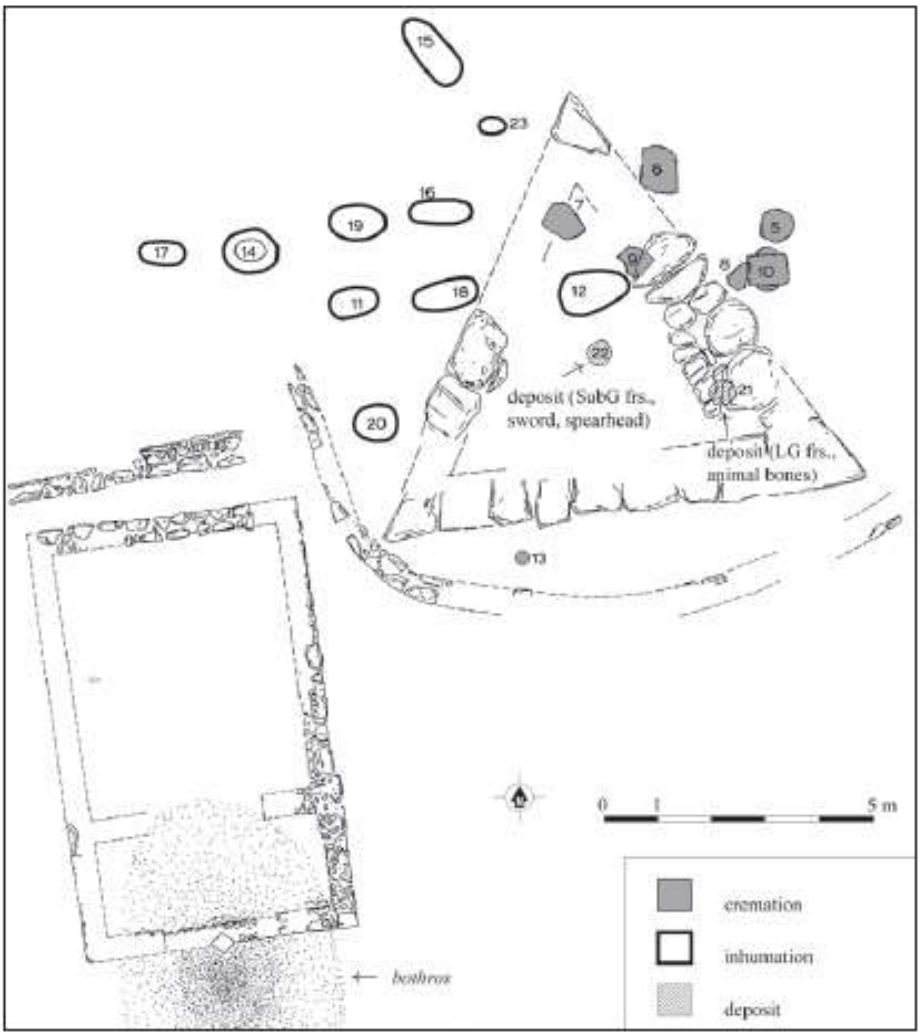


Figure 32: Eretria: burial plot near West Gate[312]

Compared to this**, the West Cemetery (or Hygeionomeion Cemetery)**, the necropolis by the coast located to the southwest, did not have the distinctive features of the high-status adult burials evident in the West Gate cemetery. The Hygeionomeion cemetery is the earliest in usage, witnessing burial activity dating back to the MG period and onwards. In the initial comprehensive study undertaken by Kourouniotis, an approximate count of 8 primary cremation burials and around 40 enchytrismoi burials was disclosed; however, Kourouniotis omitted a detailed description of the graves or their contents from the findings.[313] The occupation of this

[312] Crielaard 2007: Fig.2.
[313] Charalampidou 2017b:90.

site is dense with primary cremation burials dating mainly dated to the MG II and LG periods (representing the first phase of the necropolis), all adult burials. Crielaard argued that this cemetery began as a burial plot containing a limited number of adult graves, possibly also elite members, with evidence of commemorative ceremonies, such as feasting and horse sacrifice.[314] However, given the apparent lack of high-status goods, and its location towards the harbour, the occupants of this cemetery may be merchant seafarers or ordinary workers.[315] In compliance with the overall trend at Eretria, it was only during the LG period that the site was given over for the burial of infants and small children.[316] The other 2 principal burial plots in Eretria are the Bouratza Plot and the Rousso Plot.

The **Bouratza plot** contains 14 burials, 10 of which can be dated to either the MGII or LG period (Fig. 33), with the remaining 4 graves undatable due to lack of funerary paraphernalia. Throughout its period of utilisation, the cemetery exhibited a transition in burial practices. Initially, during the MG period, the prevalent approach was that of Primary Cremation graves, primarily conducted in their original location. A solitary occurrence of secondary cremation accompanied this. However, in the subsequent LG period, a shift occurred towards Inhumation or Enchytrismoi graves taking precedence. It is worth noting that insufficient evidence exists to associate these graves with the interment of children. Notably, the sole recorded child burial within this site followed a standard inhumation format found within Tomb 7, although the exact timeframe of its utilisation remains undetermined.[317] Blandin notes that the boundary of the Bouratza site and plot OT 689 also contained 3 primary cremations dating to

[314] Crielaard 2007: 170.
[315] Mazarakis-Ainian cited in Crielaard 2007: 183.
[316] Charalampidou 2017a.
[317] Ibid., 16-26.

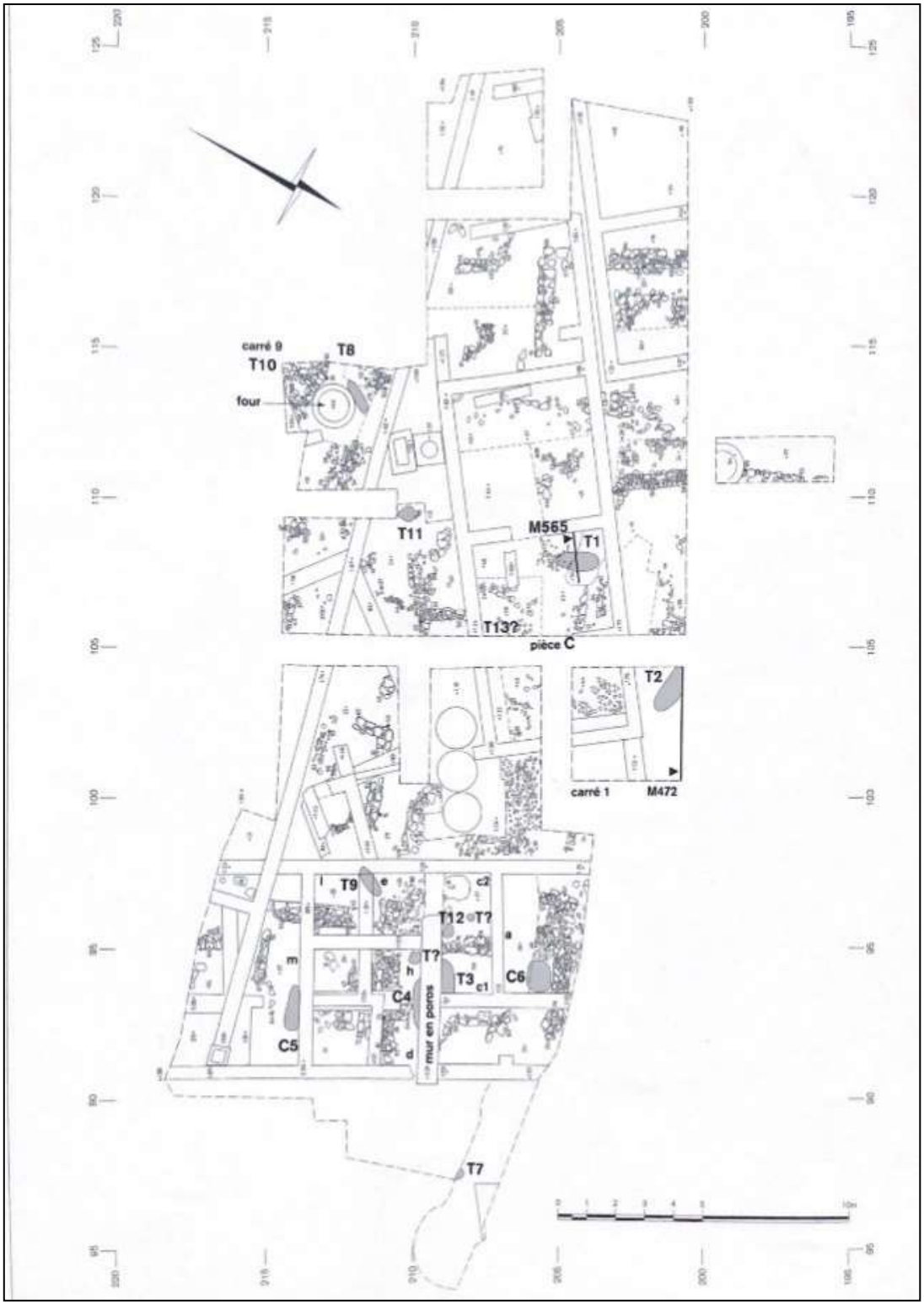


Figure 33: Bouratza plot: plan of geometric remains[318]

[318] Blandin 2017b: plate 17.

MGII.[319] This could indicate that, in the first half of the eighth century, there were several nuclei of adult graves in an area that would later correspond to the region of the *polis* Agora. Blandin speculates that the tombs discovered in these two areas correspond to the same burial area, separated from the main settlement by a seasonal stream bed.[320]

The Roussos plot has 13 burials of 2 types: burial in a pit (inhumation) and 12 enchytrismoi burials. All contained children's graves; an infant aged 2 - 4 was buried in the pit grave, while the enchytrismoi graves sheltered younger children ranging from premature babies to infants aged between 5 and 6 months old. The Enchytrismoi burial vessels themselves were not consistent, and different vessels were used (mainly amphorae, but also see jugs and pithoi), with the burial contexts of these vessels showing they were excavated either laying upright or on their sides with the vessel mouths oriented in different directions (Fig. 31). The vessel lids are also not homogeneous with different materials, such as the bottom of a krater, a carved stone slab, a fragmentary skyphos, and a fragment of a coarse ceramic vase being used. This suggests there was no significance to the vessel typology or how they were placed within the grave context. Also, no high-status grave offerings were excavated at this site, which is suggestive of what has already been speculated about the status of infants and children. Therefore, perhaps the main feature of these graves is their relationship with the contemporary oval or apsidal buildings nearby (Fig. 34). Most of the burials can be conventionally dated to the LG period; however, the potential that the graves may belong to the MGII period cannot be ruled out, as these dates are

[319] Ibid., 111–112.
[320] Ibid., 15.

based on the analysis of pottery found in the vicinity of the burial containers rather than information from the tomb soil fill.[321]

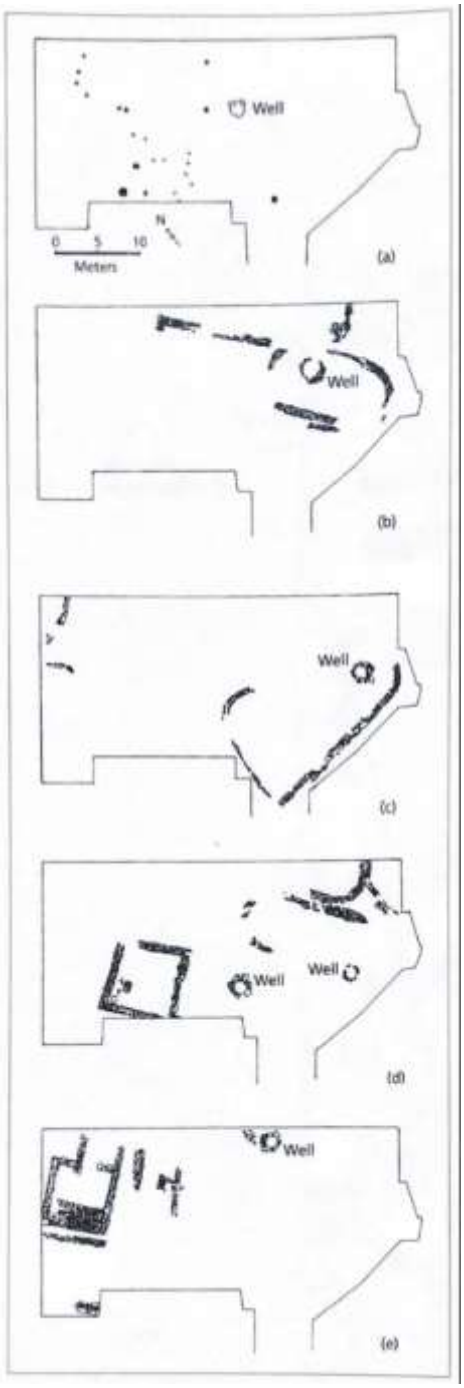


Figure 34: Eretria: Evolution of the Rousso Plot[322]

[321] Blandin 2007a: 83-88.
[322] Ibid., 83, Plate 141.1.

3.3.2 Eretria: Burial and Social Status

Regarding the overall trends in burial patterns, Blandin argued that the Eretrian's buried their dead in numerous burial sites near or around habitation areas.[323] From the burial data, it can be concluded that the deceased were buried according to their age and status in the community: infants were buried in vessels, in *enchytrismoi* burials, and usually without offerings; sub-adults (adolescents) were usually inhumed in pits with or without grave goods; and adults were buried in pits or cremated on funerary pyres (mainly primary cremation, but some evidence of secondary cremation in lesser cases). Adult burial types depended mainly on age and social status: the most notable high-status example from Eretria is the group of tombs connected to the *Heroön* (West Gate) necropolis (see above section), where both men and women were cremated and buried in bronze cauldrons – a type of burial with possible heroic connotations (see the funeral pyre of Patroclus in the Iliad).[324] These burials date to the LG period, and there is a parallel with Athens with the use of bronze lebes from the earlier MG period (Section 2.2 – Kerameikos Tomb G71-72 burial in Dimitrakopolou Street – Dipylon Cemetery), with the delay in transmission of this trend to Eretria understandable given the still fragmentary nature of Greek culture and external cohesion with other settlement areas during this period. This process of social fissioning seems to have led to increased social competition between elite families. From the MG period onwards, there is a greater variety of tomb types, grave goods, burial forms, and more significant differences in wealth levels of funerary display. Since this variety was especially evident in the West Gate cemetery and the West cemetery, it can be assumed that competition was particularly fierce among the

[323] Ibid., 83-88.
[324] *Il.*23.108-191; Charalambidou 2017b:91.

members of the elites.[325] The unearthing of monumental vessels, resembling those observed in Athens, implies a potential emulation of customs shared among distinct elite factions towards the conclusion of the 8th century. Notably, a striking illustration of this trend was discovered close to OT 689, boasting dimensions of 1.5 metres in height. Further exemplifying this era's trends, other instances during the same period encompass a vase sourced from House IV situated within the West Quarter. This specific artifact, a fragment of an MGII/LGI belly-handled Amphora, hints at the depiction of conceivable apobates races. Another illustrative artifact emerges from a bothros located within plot OT 740, characterised by an LG sherd presenting an image of a mourning woman.[326] Elite burials, similar to Athens, show that the fashion in the mid to late 8th century concerned bronze cremation urns, imported items and the deposit of weapons. In addition, similarities can be drawn between the burial types used by the elites of Eretria to those at Lefkandi and Cumae — a networked settlement in the west. On all three sites, bronze cremation vessels are prevalent, and there are imported grave goods (offerings), as well as the deposit of weapons.[327] Blandin, in the excavation report, hypothesises that the burial ritual here concerned the display of wealth on the body (probably during the *prothesis* and *ekphora* ceremony), but whilst the lavish wealth was stripped from the corpse, the personal effects were then ceremonious damaged (ritually killed in the case of swords) and placed on the pyre or in the burial plot, with perhaps feasts (evidence for an elite dining hall in Building A),[328] as well as games held following custom (possibly similar to that in epic poetry, with Verdan citing evidence of early symposia from the MGII Period).[329] This is a cautious

[325] Crielaard 2006: 288-289.
[326] Crielaard 2007: 176.
[327] Blandin 2007b: 174.
[328] Verdan 2012: 186.
[329] Verdan 2013: 199-211; *Iliad XXIII.*

approach to reconstructing a burial ritual, and it complies with what is known with complete evidence from Athens.

Moving away from Eretria, the mortuary landscape of Oropos and Chalcis will now be examined. However, unlike Lefkandi and Eretria, this site's excavation records are incomplete, and I will present what evidence is available.

3.4 Oropos

The settlement of Oropos extends below the modern city of Skala Oropou, northeast of Attica. Initially, two plots of land were examined as part of a 'rescue' excavation in 1985 to assess the area before the construction of new school buildings. Until this study, there had been no indication of the archaeological significance of the area. Subsequently, the excavation of the OTK plot found architectural remains that belong to a Geometric settlement, whilst at the other excavated site, the OTE plot at Nea Palatia, there was found over 60 burials dating from the Hellenistic period to the Roman period. In addition to these burials, the plot also wielded numerous vessels fragments dating to 900-825, suggesting earlier LPG or SPG activity, as the presence of local SPGII pottery shows that this part of Attica was a part of the Euboean Koine.[330] From the successive excavations that followed, the buildings of the Geometric settlement have been categorised into five architectural phases, ranging from the second half of the 8th century to the beginning of the 7th century (Phase -2: 760/735, Phase 3 740/725, Phase 4 730/710, Phase 5 720/690). Mazarakis-Ainian identifies Oropos as Homeric Graia[331] and even Gomme, in his commentary on Thucydides (2nd

[330] Mazarakis-Ainian 1998: paragraph 3, 20.
[331] Mazarakis-Ainian 2008.

volume), identifies the initial population as Graians who settled in Oropos from Eretria.[332] This theory has become the standard interpretation for scholars. However,



Figure 35: OSK plot at Oropos (Central, West and South Quarters)[333]

it is still problematic, as the LPG/SPG pottery of the OTE plot antedates that of Eretria, suggesting two separate settlements on this site. The excavation data for the OTK plot (see Fig. 35) has not been published in a single publication series, with most of the archaeological data released in archaeological journals (usually PAE or Ergon) or specialist conference publications and supplemental volumes from the University of Volos, who conducted successive excavations. Most of my data is extrapolated from these publications, but there are significant gaps where the data is still unpublished or is published in a limited capacity.

As well as the domestic and industrial architectural remains of the Geometric town, the excavation of the buildings of OTK has also exposed the burial plots of 33 infants/children and 4 adults. Infant and child remains were discovered between the mid-8th and early-7th centuries, with two adult graves dating to the Late Archaic period and two more cemetery tumuli covering adult cremations discovered between 600 and 500. Most child burials are in the Central quarter, with only 3 interments in the Western

[332] Cited in Mazarakis-Ainian 1998: Paragraph 64.
[333] Charalambidou 2007: 848, Fig. 4a.

quarter and 2 in the Southern quarter. The chronological range of graves is from the mid to late 8th century, which corresponds to the presence of infant burials in both Athens and Eretria (as revealed in previous sections and chapters), implying a continuous cultural tendency between Athens, parts of Attica, and the island of Euboea. Soon after the turn of the 7th century, the graves of children and infants disappeared from the archaeological record entirely, and it can be conjectured that such burials had now been incorporated into the settlement's main cemetery, as this was also the trend in both Athens and Eretria for this period. However, the cemetery site for Oropos still needs to be located. Whilst the site is prone to flooding, it was not abandoned, as the remnants of an Early Archaic building (in the western quarter, a monumental structure measuring 57 x 17.6 metres) has been uncovered. Given the finds of a bronze sheet (possible remains of a shield) and the finds of two horse skulls, this site has been interpreted loosely as a military camp, tenuously associated with the Lelantine war.[334] In addition, Oropos had a stable element of human occupation right the way through from the MGII period to the early Classical period, when the site was abandoned as it was flooded, and the settlement moved east to the new Classical site. This settlement had greater longevity, lasting throughout the historical era of Ancient Greece, until its decline in late antiquity circa 4th century CE.[335]

Most burials at Oropos are shallow pit or shaft graves and concern the *enchytrismoi* burials of infants and children. This type of burial saw inhumation burials inside a coarse jug with signs of domestic use (burning on the lower part of the vessel). There is some variation in burial vessels, with a Pithos used in graves IV and IX in the central quarter and an Amphora used in grave II in the western quarter. However,

[334] Mazarakis-Ainian 2008: 34.
[335] Mazarakis-Ainian 2008: 17, 35; Boardman 1951.

given the relatively few occurrences, these instances are best described as anomalous. Generally, shallow pits have oval dimensions of a 0.60 m diameter with a depth of about 0.30 metre.[336] In all cases, the pit's depth is adjusted according to the diameter of the vessel body.[337] In most cases, the vessels contained a few bone fragments, which were identified based on the osteological study of infant bones, with the vessel in shallow pits being placed sideways. Vlachou has organised shallow pit burials into two groups A & B. Group A concerns the burials of phases 3 & 4. Phase 3 burials were found at a distance from the dwellings, whilst Phase 4 burials are restricted to the East part of the central quarter. Group B concerns burials of the 5th architectural phase.[338] For graves of this category, a few stones are sometimes placed around the vessel for support (burial I). Similar to Athens and Eretria, the 'mouth' of the burial vessel is either sealed by an intact vessel (e.g., skyphos in the case of burial XX^{B}), by the fragment of another vessel (burial XXXIX), by a stone slab (Burial II), or the vessel was found open (XX^{G}). The orientation of the enchytrismoi vessels varies and does not follow any regular pattern. As a rule, only a few ceramic sherds and animal bones come from the fill of these pits, with grave goods only attributed to phase 5 burials. As well as shallow pits and shaft graves, there are also examples of burials in sizable pits, box-shaped tombs, and cist graves. Large pits had seemingly no connection to child burials and usually date to the 1st architectural phase. Furthermore, out of 12 pits, 5 housed a unique type of burial, 4 conical shape pits and one cylindrical pit. However, little is known about the occupants as no *enchytrismoi* vessels or inhumation burials have been recorded.[339] The depth of these pits ranges from 1.15 - 1.75 metres, while the diameter of their upper surface varies between 1-1.40 metres.

[336] Vlachou 2007: 215.
[337] Vlachou 2004: 76, 146.
[338] Vlachou 2007: 214-217.
[339] Ibid..

Their shape is either circular, keeping the same diameter to the bottom, or conical, with the diameter at the bottom reaching half the diameter of the upper surface. The pits were filled with soil containing a few fragments of animal bones, seashells, charcoals, and fragmented pottery sherds and contained vessels deposited at the bottom layer. According to the pottery finds, the pits were sealed with grey-coloured earth immediately upon burial. [340]

From the osteological evidence study, the Oropos bones had a brown discolouration. However, whilst this could be down to burning as one would expect, it is most likely down to the burial environment, which was moist and prone to flooding.[341] The osteological documentation of children remains incomplete due to the insufficient preservation of the skeletons of children.[342] There are only a few examples of where bones other than fragments have been recorded. The first example is the case of Burial IV, where it has been concluded that this is a child under 5 years old as, in addition to bone fragments, a tooth was also found, allowing for some dating.[343] The second is the case of an enchytrismos burial of a contracted skeleton of a child aged about 7 years in Burial II, and the third example is Burial I where the frontal bone of a skull was found, the bone still had the upper part of the two eye sockets preserved and belongs to an infant.[344] The only sub-adult found at Oropos is the LG inhumation burial of a 16-year-old, who was found between building A and B, his body was in a contracted position similar to contemporary burials at Pithekoussai; however, this burial context is a somewhat anomalous burial at Oropos.[345] Some grave goods

[340] Ibid., 219.
[341] Vlachou 2004: 76, 146, 148.
[342] Mazarakis-Ainian 1996: 102 fig 20.
[343] Ibid., 89-90.
[344] Mazarakis-Ainian 2001: 41-42.
[345] Vlachou 2007: 217.

appear for the first time during Phase 4, while during Phase 5, all burials, regardless of type, contain grave goods. To this last phase belong the 'richest' burials of the settlement. However, compared to Athens, Lefkandi and Eretria, the finds are considerably poorer, with little jewellery, gold, or imported items. The two finest objects found at Oropos are an ivory fibula from Tomb IV and a horse figurine from Pit XXXIII.

Regarding the spatial dispersion of the children's graves, it is found that the burials take place relatively close to the settlement's dwellings, with most burials seemingly included in a residential complex defined by enclosures or on the periphery of such spaces.[346] The rise in the number of burials during phase 5 matches the expansion of the area of dwellings and the free space that formed its enclosure. There seems to be a pattern of burial organisation, where each small family group bury their children within the confines of the building enclosure. The size of the dwelling is the social indicator for such burials, and this must be considered concerning the burials rather than the actual burial goods, which are mainly unsophisticated and meagre. From the grave goods found at the actual burial sites, burial was not an exercise in self-elevating the family's status for the community to critique but merely a mundane private occasion for the benefit of the family only.[347] The act of burial nevertheless saw some trace of a burial ritual, with the remains of animal bones, shells and pottery sherds found in the burial fill.

3.4.1 Burial Ritual at Oropos

The funeral ritual is denoted in the burial context by smashed drinking vessels (kantharoi, kotylai, skyphoi, cups, kraters and oenochoai), usually found in the soil fill

[346] Ibid., 223.
[347] Ibid., 221-222

or outside the burial vessel. However, it is unclear if the vessels were smashed deliberately before being placed in the burial soil fill.[348] In addition to this, from the finds of animal bones (Burials III, IV, IX, X2, X3, XIII, & XV) and seashells (Burials V, XXVII, & XXXIV), it can be determined that a feast also took place. Given the relatively young age of burials, the rituals performed are not ostentatious but somewhat austere. This may be due to the comparably none-status that children represented or if it is an overall characteristic of burials in Oropos. Whilst it is not possible to determine which applies I suspect the former, as this is the case in Athens and Eretria. From other buildings in the settlement, ritual feasting was conducted in an elite dwelling labelled Building θ,[349] and it may be that such meals for this settlement were the focal point of polity ritual practices. In this sphere, social cohesion was practised, away from personal ostentatious shows of status in the public sphere as in Athens.[350] A *sema* or small *tumulus* marked the grave, and respectively this was usually a crudely dressed stone that was placed upright to demark the grave area (Burials I-V & Pits X, XXVI) or a small mound of earth that measured on average up to 0.40 centimetres. Several graves had interlocking Tumuli or shared a common tumulus.[351] There are also indications of a *heroön* (see Fig. 36) to the dead or ancestors in a rectangular building that replaced a ruined oval building (Building IA). The building had a paved area and an altar and also contained a polished stone set in the middle of a paved area similar to a grave marker, which was covered in ash with a handmade lamp in situ. Evidence for burial rituals has been found, with the remains of smashed pots, charcoal, and animal bones present in the surrounding space of the building, and a small circular

[348] Ibid., 222.
[349] Mazarakis-Ainian 1998: paragraph 55.
[350] Following Mazarakis-Ainian 2008: 30, see Building ΣT for evidence of a proto-cult building in Geometric Oropos.
[351] Mazarakis-Ainian 1998: n.112.

offering *Table* has also been found. Seemingly votive offerings of a mutilated horse and a clay ship have also been found suggesting worship and not merely veneration.[352]

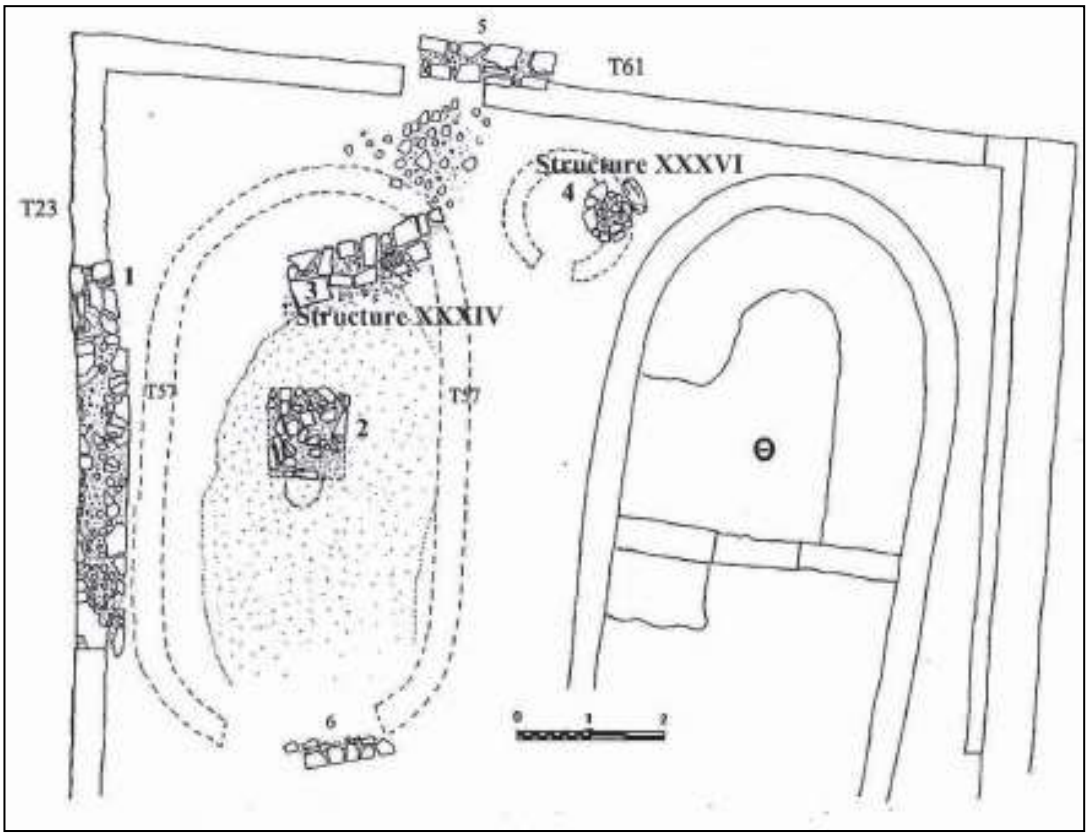


Figure 36: Oropos Central Quarter, Plan of Heroön[353]

From what has been found in the burial record, Oropos has a rather Euboean character in its approach to mortuary practices. The burial of children is inserted close to domestic dwellings or within domestic enclosures, and child burials are done in simple pits or shafts similar to Eretrian burials; there is the use of stone Tumuli, and where applicable, burial in contracted positions without grave goods similar to the practices of Pithekoussai (*see section 7.1*). In this context, Tumuli denote family burial grounds of infants, children, and some adults.[354]

[352] Mazarakais-Ainian 2008: 32.
[353] Charalambidou 2007: 848, Fig. 4b.
[354] Ridgeway 2007: 142.

3.5 Chalcis

The settlement of Chalcis was known from the works of Strabo and from Thucydides, who mentions the tradition of the Lelantine War (1.15), but apart from

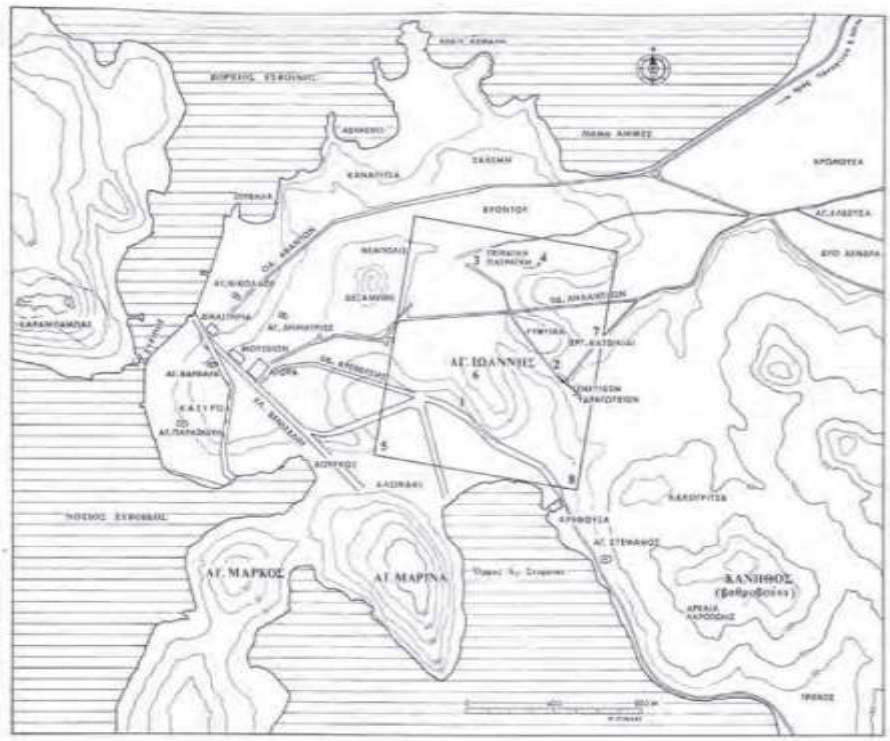


Figure 37: Map of Chalcis [355]

that, very little else is known in terms of the settlement and, for our purposes, its mortuary archaeology (Fig. 37). Initially, the only archaeological information available was the local rescue excavation reports that described the remnants of 16 vessels of local manufacturers dated to the PG period, found in small cist tombs (Fig. 38), as well as 2 skyphoi from a tomb in Nea Lampsakos near Chalcis, which also dated to the PG period.[356] Further information on burials was published in 1976, and added 7 new

[355] Charalambidou 2015: 120, Fig. 2.
[356] Andreiomenou 1972: 182; Andreiomenou 1986: 113.

tombs to the repertoire of evidence for this settlement, with the dates for the tombs ranging from the EPG to SPGII. Additionally, 4 graves were found intact and contained 57 preserved vessels (mostly miniature ceramic ware). Later, 3 other graves were

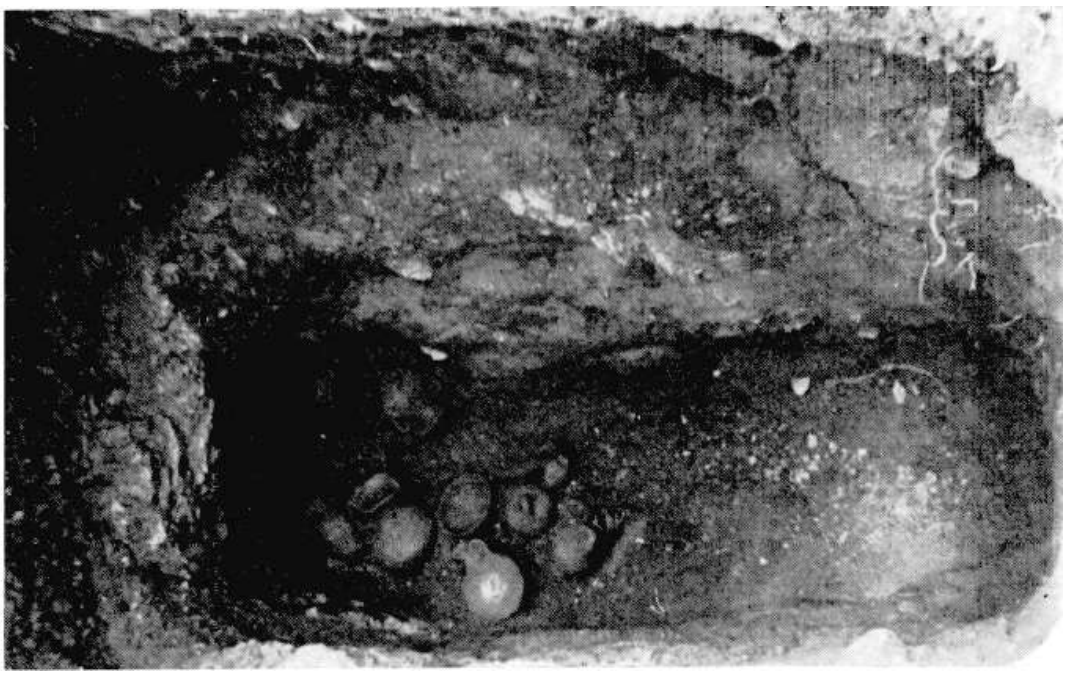


Figure 38: Ceramic ware from Chalcis Tomb 1[357]

found destroyed, and their presence could only be deduced by large quantities of pottery sherds. These sherds also date from the LPG period to the LG period and, like the previous finds, were all local. From a study of the sherd fragments, many fragments of a Skyphos vessel not found in Eretria or Lefkandi but characteristic of Sicilian Naxos and Tarquiniae are found. This suggests that Chalcidean traders or settlers transported them.[358] The pottery sherd discoveries show that the settlement was occupied from the EPG to SPGIII and coexisted with Lefkandi, which was barely 16 kilometres to the north.

[357] Andrioménou 1986: 90 Fig. 1.
[358] Andreiomenou 1996: 117; Coldstream 2008: 148.

CHAPTER 4 - BURIALS IN BOEOTIA

4.1 Introduction

Academic discussion regarding the burial habits of the Boeotians during the Early Iron Age has not been well explored, and there have been little to no major excavations published comparable with the scale seen for regions such as Attica or Euboea. What excavations have been conducted are primarily the results of infrastructure investment in the Boeotian countryside and accidental finds on private property, with both types resulting in an expedited rescue or circumspect investigation published in the usual ephorate journals. Reports for this region lack details and often provide only a short summary, focusing on general site features with little information on burial remains, burial methods, or grave goods. The chronology of the region is also not well defined, with the PG period (1050 – 950) considered obscure in terms of chronological development. The SPG period runs from 950 – 850, the EG Period from 850 – 825, the MG Period from 825 – 735, and the LG Period from 735 – 700. The Boeotian Geometric period is closely aligned with both the Euboean chronological periods during the early SPG period, and the Athenian chronology period during the EG-MG period with some dissemination in terms of delay in transmission and synchronisation (see the table listed in Fig. 1).

As a result of the limited excavation data available, the authoritative volumes (mentioned in section 1.1) also pay little attention to Boeotia.[359] What is stated is brief, with Lemos and Snodgrass offering under a page's content. Coldstream is slightly more descriptive when analysing burial trends (especially in the Early Geometric period), with several pages on the subject. However, even he is more concerned with

[359] Lemos 2002; Coldstream 2003; Snodgrass 2000.

the origins or imitation styles of the pottery found rather than a detailed analysis of mortuary practices or burial contexts. For the LG period, in particular, Coldstream does not discuss mortuary trends but focuses on pottery, terracotta, and bronze objects, with little to no mention of the contexts in which they were found. Whitley only mentions Boeotia three times, but in comparison to Attica and Athens.[360] The Aristeia Project can be utilized, but entries for the region of 'Boiotia' are also incomplete. The data for this region was compiled mainly by Papadopoulou, with evidence for only 6 domestic settlements (Fig. 40), 13 sanctuary sites, and 35 burial 'necropoleis' found for the

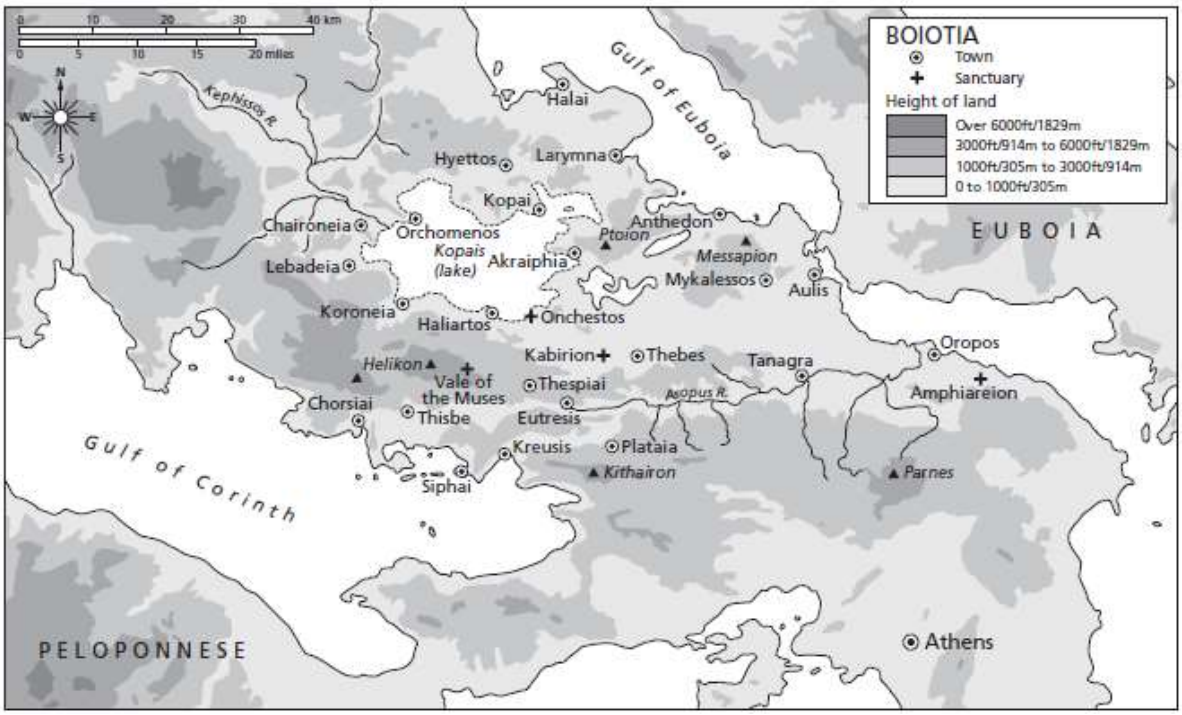


Figure 39: Map of 'Boiotia'[361]

period. A note on the geography of the sites that I have examined in this chapter: I refer to those sites listed in 'The Aristeia Project' under *'Boiotia'*, although several sites, such as Antikyra, may be on the border with *Phokis*, and their inclusion in this segment of the Thesis is therefore subjective (Fig. 39). However, given the uncertain nature of

[360] Whitley 2003: 58, 81, 194.
[361] Schachter 2016: xxi.

regional borders for this period, such peripheral settlements can be included due to the uncertain nature of inter-regional divisions in the period.

Breaking down the available data, whilst there is burial activity across the entire chronological span of the EIA, the majority of burials seem to have occurred during the LG/EA period around Thebes, which correlates with what is already known of the early emergence of the *polis* of Thebes in the Archaic period circa the early 7th century. There is no settlement data for Thebes during the EIA; however, the Thebes of Antiquity and the modern city of Thebes is built on the EIA site, meaning that all settlement evidence has likely been built over or destroyed over time, with no widescale excavation feasible. Conversely, there has been relatively little urban development in the Boeotia countryside, so it is understandable why modern Thebes has the bulk of finds attributed to it. Given Thebes' settlement status from the Bronze Age throughout the EIA (even in decline) and the emergence of the *polis* in the Archaic period, it is understandable why Thebes may have had two foundation myths and is one of the main settings for Greek folklore and mythology. Further study of the two foundation myths has revealed that the first may be an Indo-European remnant from the Helladic period, whilst the foundation myth of Kadmos is a literary tradition dating more to the Archaic and Classical Periods.[362]

During the Bronze Age, Boeotia had several prosperous palace sites, with important trade and cultural networks connecting the region to the rest of Greece and with trade with the wider Mediterranean Area. However, with the LBA collapse, what is observed is rapid depopulation and settlement decline, perhaps some of the worst in Greece during the EIA. Boeotia's rapid depopulation is measured by the reduction

[362] Berman 2004: 19.

in the number of settlements, with only 6 known settlement sites during the EIA, compared to 16 known sites in the LHIIIC period.[363] There may have been several rural cemeteries that have not yet been unearthed compared to the number of known burials in the area. Traditionally, Thucydides attests that during the EIA, there was an influx of people from Thessaly into the region. This group was called the *Boiotoi,* and they supposedly named the region. While one or two of the settlements listed (especially at Khostia) seem to be a refuge point during the LBA/EIA transition, the archaeological record does not show a significant influx that could subvert most of the



Figure 40: Map of EIA Settlements in Boeotia[364]

region's population.[365] During the PG period, with the proximity of Euboea and this island's establishment of cultural networks throughout Greece, Boeotia became a conduit of trade and communication, maintaining contacts throughout central Greece

[363] Mazarakis 2017a; Consoli 2023; Number of settlements extracted from both the Aristeia Project and the Mycenaean Atlas Project respectively.
[364] Adapted from Mazarakis 2017a.
[365] *Thuc.1.12.*6; Aravantinos 2019: 773; Fossey 2019: 7-9.

(see *Section 1.3*). This network appears to have changed a little during the Geometric period, orientated west of Thebes, toward Delphi and Kalapodi, with significant sites at Askra and Haliartos, which served as gateway settlements to Phokis, Malis, East Locris, and western Greece.[366] In addition, Boeotia maintained contact with the Corinthian Gulf, with sites in Antikyra and modern Ellopia, allowing them easy access to passing trade with Corinth and further inland to the Peloponnese and Western Greece.

Unlike the previous chapters, which focused on the primary excavation data for Athens or the principal sites on Euboea, due to the limited amount of burial data available for Boeotia, it is easier to list all archaeological data for all burial sites for this period and this region. Looking at the overall layout throughout the region, burial plots, for the most part, seem to be located away from the known settlement sites (Fig. 40). Cluster burials exist on what must have been the periphery of settlements and sub-regions, and this alone offers an insight into contemporary attitudes towards burials. Whilst such burials occupy sites from all over the region, just over half of the burials are located in Thebes (18 out of the 35 burial sites), and this will naturally be the starting point for the chapter.

4.2 Burials at Thebes – Overall Survey of Available Data

Within Thebes, there appear to be three main organised cemeteries bordering the centre of the city: to the north of the city are burials in the suburb of Pyri, and the 'North-East Cemetery', and to the south, burials in Tachi (Fig. 41). There are sporadic grave sites in the centre of Thebes (see *Section 4.3*). These may be linked to

[366] Knodell 2021: 157.

contemporary domestic burials (similar to those found at Oropos) or domestic burials within the remnants of the Mycenaean palace at Thebes suggesting a tenuous link, or maybe mere expediency as a liminal space given the sparse population attested. Most burials here date to the SM period or EPG and are located around the periphery of the palace, suggesting a plausible link to the site previously. This is primarily based on the spatial distance to the remains of the palace site.

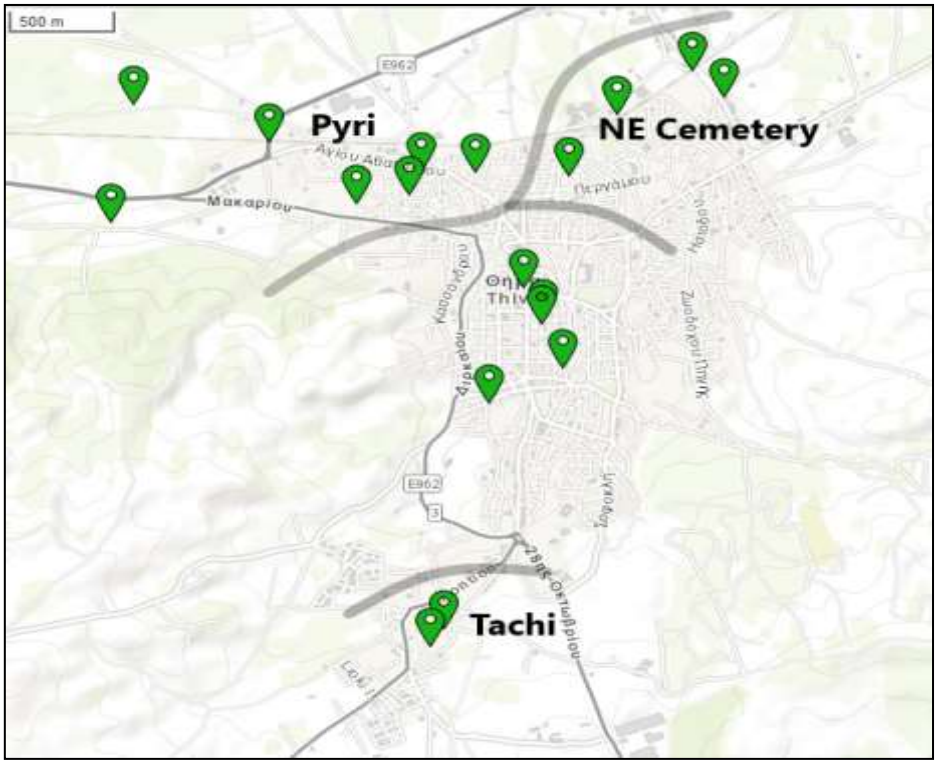


Figure 41: Cemeteries in Thebes[367]

4.2.1 Tachi Burials

The present-day village of Tachi is located on the site of the ancient settlement of Potnia, which was built at the northern end of Parasopia, along the carriageway from Plataea to Thebes, and is about 2 kilometres to the southwest of Kadmeia. An excavation in Tachi in 1973 revealed a burial enclosure from the EG to Hellenistic

[367] Adapted from Mazarakis 2017a.

periods. Further to this excavation, a season was undertaken in 1992 by the 'Workers Housing Organization' to assess the land for the construction of two complexes of modern houses. The main discovery of the site was the finds of Geometric and Early Archaic burials.[368] Initially, 25 tombs were uncovered, with a further 4 LG burials discovered in 1993 and another 30 tombs found in 1994. Unfortunately, information

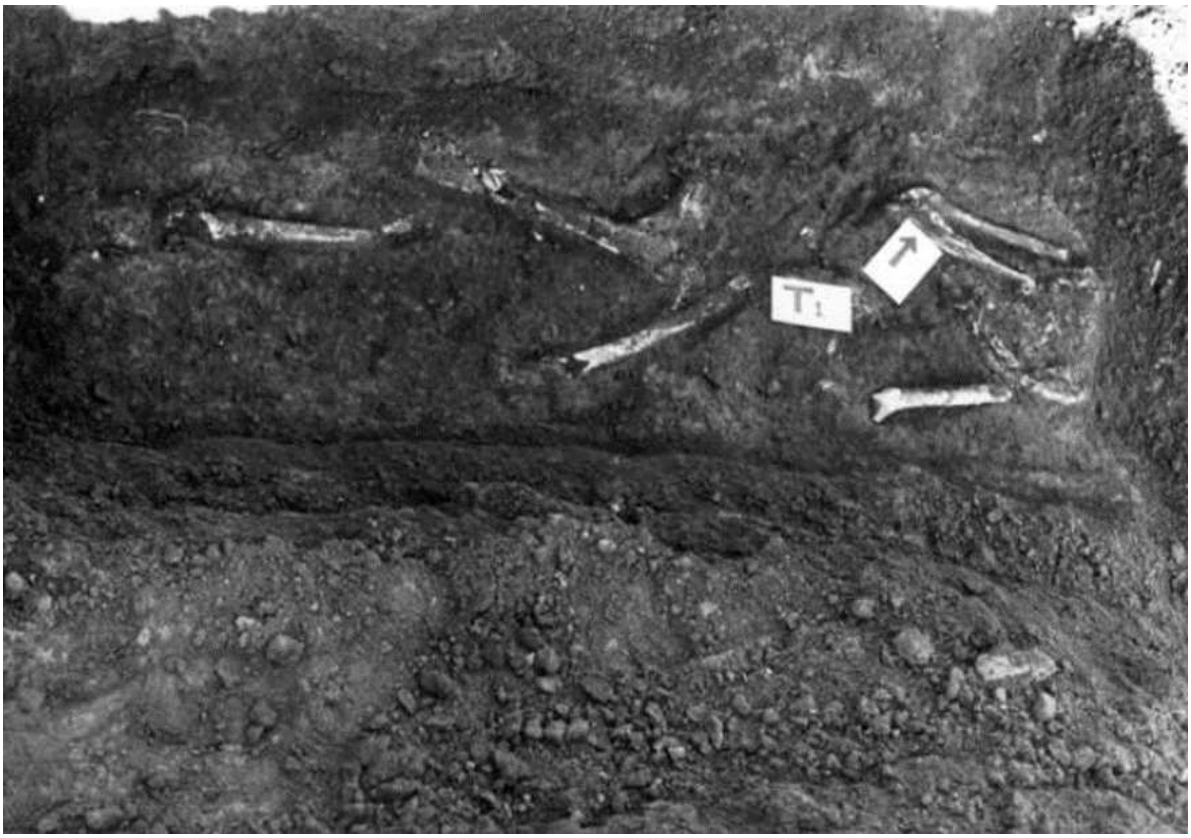


Figure 42: Tachi, Grave 1 – MG Pit Inhumation[369]

on tombs 1 - 29 is not well published. The findings reported indicate that there were 6 tombs from the MG (Fig. 42) and LG periods (Fig. 43), with 5 enchytrismoi burials and 1 pit burial, 13 tombs from the Early Archaic period with 12 enchytrismoi burials and 1 cremation, and 6 undatable tombs with 3 enchytrismoi burials, 2 pit burials, and 1 unspecified pit burial. The tombs lacked any datable grave goods, and it is uncertain

[368] Andreiomenou 2014: 231-2.
[369] Kountouri 2014: 225 Fig. 4.

whether they were compromised in antiquity.[370] There is also the anomalous find of the burial of an animal in grave T30, thought to be a canine.

Furthermore, from a typological perspective, 17 of the *enchytismoi* graves can be categorised into a burial grouping due to the use of large amphorae and relatively large pithoi as funerary vessels, with 15 of these burials containing infants in pithoi and probably 2 adult burials in Amphorae. In total, 12 of the burials contained grave goods (T. 35, 40, 41, 45, 47, 49, 50, 51, 52, 55, 56, 57), contrasted to 2 burials containing no goods (T. 53, 54). The grave goods inside the funerary vessel included small vessels, whilst larger ceramic vessels were placed around the funerary vessel.[371] The grave goods for the period found included skyphoi, kantharoi, one-handled cups, unpainted amphora, bronze jewellery, and iron pins. A well excavated on the site was also located among the tombs here. At the bottom of the shaft were found more than 70 LG and EA ceramic vessels, as well as bronze pins. The spatial location of these burials amongst the LH and LG-EA tombs may indicate that a sanctuary site existed here and that rites were performed, indicating a tomb or ancestor cult.

In the northeast of these tombs, another burial group was uncovered. It contained pit graves (T.60, 61, 64, 65, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71,72) and a cist grave (T. 66). The main feature of these burials is the lack of offerings that would allow their chronological placement. The LG period date is assigned based on the few tombs containing offerings. These offerings include bronze jewellery such as bracelets and rings, iron fibulae, and a few vessels (small hydria and one-handled cups). Semi-precious stones and glass beads were also found, along with a rectangular bone seal

[370] Andreiomenou 2014: 277-278.
[371] Papadopoulou 2017a.

featuring symmetrically placed representations of chariots with charioteers. The grave goods in the LG cemetery varied according to wealth and social constructs which



Figure 43: Tachi, Grave 18 - Late Geometric 'Enchytrismos'[372]

involve factors such as sex, and age of the deceased. Given the amount of burial activity seen at this site, it is more than likely that a small rural settlement was tied to both the Mycenaean period and the EIA.[373]

4.2.2 Pyri Burials

The other extensive burial site on the Periphery of Thebes is that of the burials dotted around the suburb of Pyri (see Fig. 41). **At Pyri – N. Liakopoulos' Plot,** 88 burials were excavated, with the site reportedly dating from the end of the 8th century to the Hellenistic period. These graves include 64 inhumation burials (Fig. 44) and 24 primary cremation pits.[374] Unfortunately, like so many sites in Greece, the individual

[372] Andreiomenou 2014: 237, Fig. 7.
[373] Blackman 2000: 57.
[374] Aravantinos 2001-2004: 157-159.

details of these burials are not known, and all burials are recorded as 'Archaic', so they can range from the early 7th century to the start of the 5th century. The burials listed as Archaic consist of single inhumation burials, with several instances of enchytrismoi, as well as primary cremation in pits, with animal and plank-shaped figurines found as grave goods in the inhumations. The burials around Pyri were likely part of the NW



Figure 44: Pyri – Late Geometric Inhumation Tomb[375]

cemetery of Thebes. This cemetery was organised around the ancient roads leading to Akraiphia, Oghistos, and Delphi (although little remains of it but a layer of soil with small rough stones that were used during the LG and Early Archaic period.[376] **Pyri – S. Papadimitriou Field.** At this site, a total of 19 graves were uncovered, dating from the Geometric to Classical periods. Among them, 5 graves have been attributed to the EIA, dating from the 8th century to the early 7th century. Like most graves for this period, there is no chronology provided for the graves. All the excavation reports state that graves at this site included *enchytrismoi* in pithoi, inhumations (pit burials), pyres and

[375] Kountouri 2014: 225, Fig. 4.
[376] Papadopoulou 2017b; Aravantinos 2001-2004:157-159.

secondary cremations in vessels (see Fig. 45). The latter is dated to the Geometric period.[377] **Pyri – Ag. Eleousa,** a burial ground containing 8 burials, of which only 3 adults and 2 children have been identified, dating between the 8th century and the second half of the 7th century. The burial ground was in use overall between the LG period and the classic period, with only one period in the second half of the seventh century when there was a hiatus in use for a generation.[378] No grave types have been identified, and no artefacts have been listed.

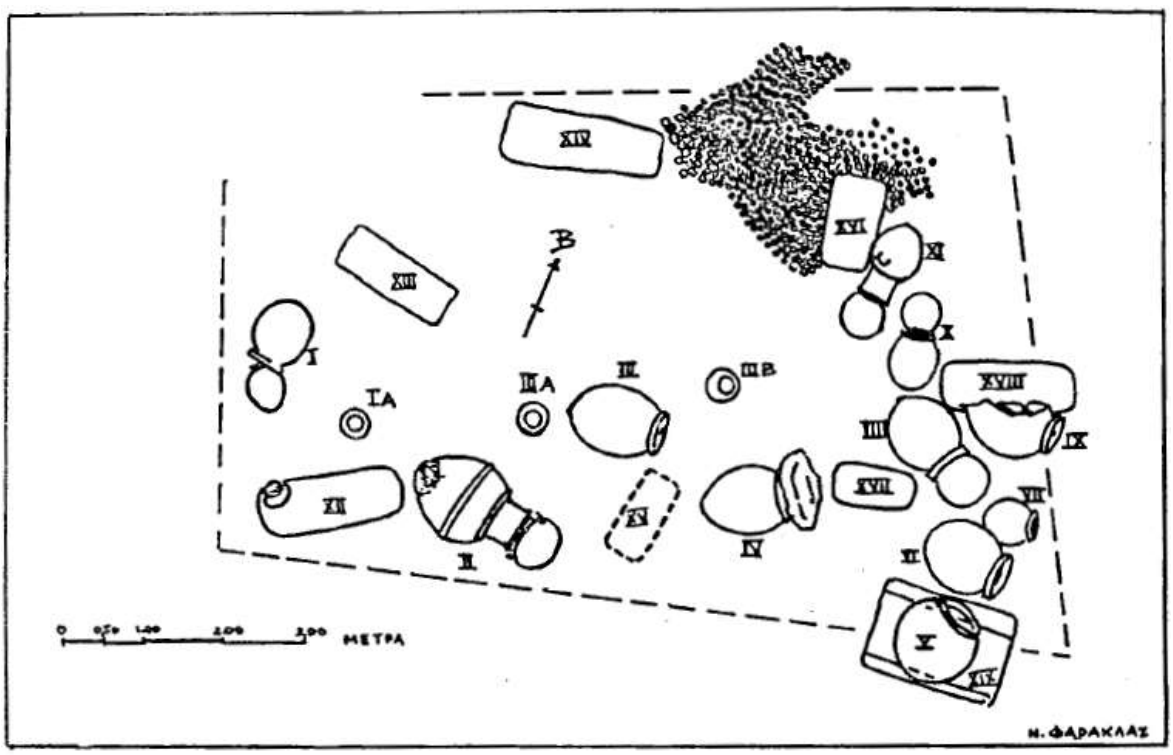


Figure 45: 19 Graves dating from LG to EA (S. Papadimitriou Field)[379]

At the plot of **A. Liakopoulos**, only one burial was uncovered at the site, and it dates to the LG period and is the burial of a child in a *pithos*.[380] The burial had been disturbed, and parts of the pithos vessel (including the lid) were lost. The burial is worth noting due to the unique design (at least for Boeotia) of the pithos vessel, which was

[377] Papadopoulou 2017c.
[378] Papadopoulou 2017d.
[379] Pharaklas 1967:236.
[380] Papadopoulou 2017e.



Figure 46: Pyri – Tall Pithos Burial panel[381]

decorated with a Geometric design that contained 2 panels (Fig. 46, 47). The first panel features a figure playing the lyre, facing a group of 6 women, and a smaller male and female in between; the second panel depicts a group of 9 female dancers.[382] The pithos vessel itself was a 'tall' cylindrical shape measuring over 0.5 metres tall.[383] There has been speculation that the rite depicts the Theban *Daphnephoria* held at the Sanctuary of Apollo Ismenios, which usually dates to the 6th Century, but might have roots further back to the LG period given the sanctuary's proximity to the Sanctuary of Herakles (which dates as early as the mid-8th century BCE)[384], and that the shape of the vessel as a 'basket' suggests the burial of a young girl. Grigsby links the scene to a line in Pindar, *The Daphnephoros for Agasicles*.[385]

'…to follow you on the way will be your kindly daughter,

who beside the branch of leafy bay

walks on sandals' (68-70)'

Pindar, fr.94b trans. Race

[381] Langdon 2001: 593.
[382] Touloupa 1966: 197-198, pl. 202:b.
[383] Langdon 2001:592.
[384] Aravantinos 2017:226.
[385] Grigsby 2022; Langdon 2001: 596.

Grigsby states that the inaccurately drawn hand of the young boy can be interpreted as the sacred laurel for this rite, and the smaller figure standing next to him is the girl interred, who was one of the maiden chorus (music is suggested through the presence of a lyre) who were known to follow closely to the laurel bearer in this procession.[386]



Figure 47: Pyri – Tall Pithos Burial panel[387]

What is significant is that such activities are usually reserved for elite family members, suggesting that if correct, this is the enchytrismos of a member of the elite. The vessel, having been broken and then repaired prior to interment, exhibits signs of prior use by the family. Langdon conjectures that its original purpose may have been to contain foodstuffs for a commemorative meal or water from the River Ismene, symbolically marking the closure of a maiden's life and the transition into marriage, a theme depicted in the festival and emblematic of social transformation.[388] Additionally two

[386] Photius 321a-321b cited in Schachter 2006.
[387] Langdon 2001: 593, 2008:182.
[388] Langdon 2008:182-183

further vessels were also discovered nearby, a kalathiskos and a lekanis, also items associated with female burials.[389]

Pyri – roadbridge over the railroad, at this site is an Early Archaic burial plot where several destroyed tombs were found, and hundreds of vessels had been discovered (although no further catalogue or study has been made of these finds). Two types of burials were discovered: primary cremations in shallow pits and *pithoi* burials, although the numbers of both have not been listed. Burnt grave goods have been discovered inside the ceramic vessels, including a few terracotta female figurines, bronze daggers, and glass beads, placed in context before the primary cremation was enacted – possibly relating to a female burial.[390] There are also finds of *pithoi,* which may have acted as an additional offering space away from the cremation.[391] Additional graves have been located in Pyri, but little can be reported on them due to the relative obscurity of the excavation reports. These sites are at Isminiou & Kalatzi Street and Alonia.[392]

4.2.3 North East Cemetery

Cooperative storehouse. Part of an organised cemetery NE of Thebes (see Fig. 41). The cemetery had been systematically cleared for construction in the 5th century, with only one burial found at this site, inside two pithoi. The burial contained a skeleton (unknown if adult or child) with grave goods of five vessels, three of which were Middle Protocorinthian lekythoi, which dates the tomb to the EA period.[393] At the

[389] Symeonoglou 1985: 262.
[390] Touloupa & Symeonoglou 1965: 240.
[391] Symeonoglou 1985: 258.
[392] Papadopoulou 2017f.
[393] Symeonoglou 1985: 261.

site of the **Ancient Theatre,** a single Geometric cremation grave has been excavated, but has no information published regarding details.[394] At the **Thebes-Mouriki road - under the railway bridge (OSE),** a cemetery has been discovered that was in use from the LG period to the Roman Period, with a break in use between the Early Archaic period and the Hellenistic period. The burials at the site overlap the ancient road to Chalcis suggesting that some burials were cleared out to make way for its construction as the road dates from the Archaic period, and there is a correlation with Archaic graves being buried in groups on either side. As with the majority of information for Thebes during the LG-EA period, there is no specific information on burial context or grave inventory. The only available information for Early Archaic graves is that 3 graves have been discovered, with pit graves, pithoi burials, and cremations included in the main burial types.[395]

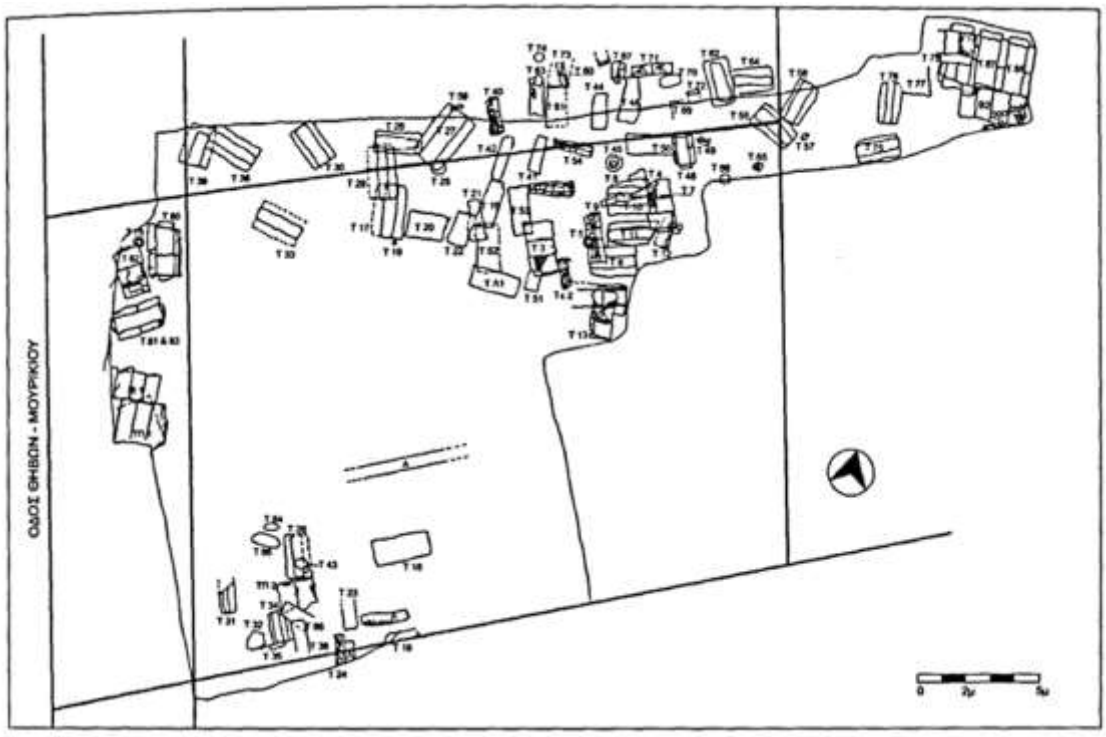


Figure 48: Thebes-Mourikiou Street plot. Top view of an ancient cemetery[396]

[394] Ibid., 86.
[395] Papadopolou 2017h.
[396] Aravantinos 2001-2004: 151.

At the Thebes-Mouriki Road - A. Tsallas' plot, 185 graves were found dating between the Geometric and Roman periods (Fig. 48). However, only general information has been published. Specially 5 tombs dating to the Geometric period have only been found, with the finds of 3 child burials. During this period, the adults were buried in inhumation burials, placed in pits covered by stone slabs. The bodies were excavated in an extended supine position, and the finds of bronze pins on the chest show that they would have been buried dressed or wrapped in a shroud. Children were buried in an amphora or *pithos* in an *enchytrismos* burial. The burial vessels were sealed with a clay lid, a slab or another vessel and were placed in a pit with stones around them. During the Early Archaic period, there were instances of adult inhumation in pit graves and enchytrismos. Adults were placed in large pithos, whilst infants seemed to be placed in amphoras.[397]

4.3 Thebes – Anomalous Burial Plots

Electran Gates, Kadmeia area: At this site 11 Graves have been discovered, primarily cist grave inhumations, with 8 dating to the SM, and 2 to the PG period.[398] These graves were placed into the Mycenaean walls, similar to the practices observed at Mycenae, Tiryns, and Asine (Fig. 49). Given the placement of the burials, the area may have been seen as a liminal space and while Lemos refrains from establishing a direct connection to ancestor veneration in this context due to the absence of

[397] Papadopolou 2017i.
[398] Symeonoglou 1985: 85; Snodgrass 2000: 158.

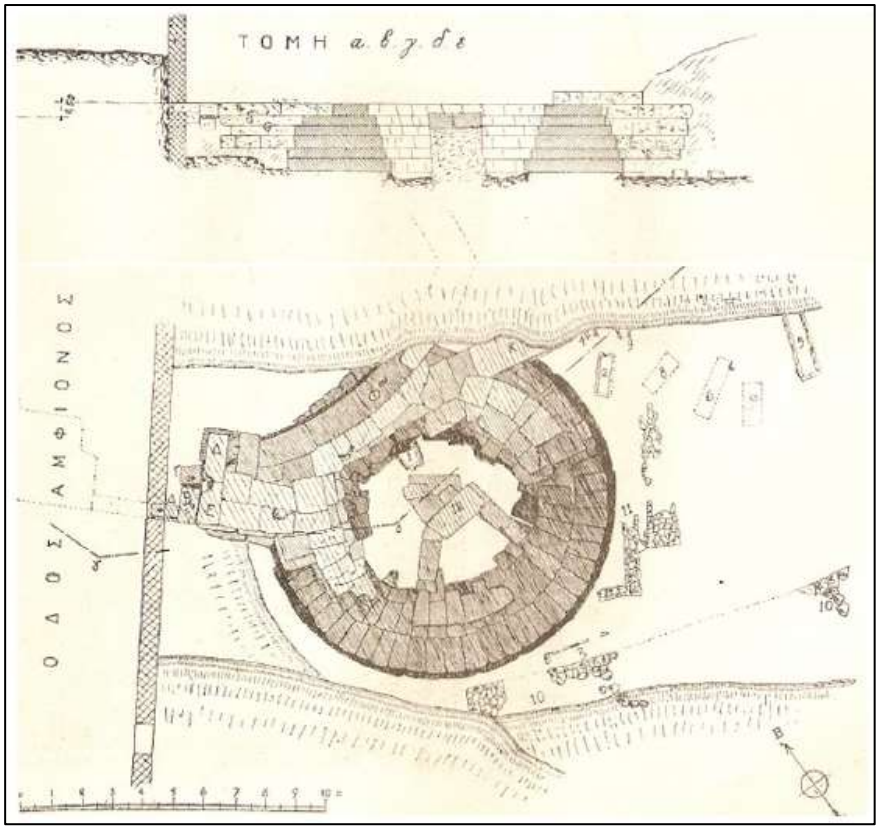


Figure 49: Plan of the Electran gates (Kadmeia area) SM-PG burials[399]

substantial offerings (with only a lekythos and amphoriskos found atop the cover slabs in Tomb 2), although the possibility of ancestor veneration or some other plausible association with the former occupants of the ruins should not be dismissed outright given the permanence of the structure.[400] The ruins are both physical and symbolic, belonging to both the past and the present, and therefore can be accepted as a liminal location for a *rite de passage*.[401]

A further isolated burial plot was found east of the Electran gates at **34 Pelopidou Street,** with 2 PG burials, an inhumation burial in a cist grave with a cremation vessel placed between the skeleton's leg.[402] Southeast of these burials is a LH Cemetery at **Kolonaki**, and found at this site is a PG skyphos located in the

[399] Keramopoulos 1916: 6.
[400] Porter 2011: 685-686.
[401] Adamson 2018: 230.
[402] Symeonoglou 1985: 84-90.

dromos of a Mycenaean Chamber Tomb (Tomb 27).[403] It was not associated with the burial in this tomb and is anomalous, with the tomb most likely being reused during the PG period.[404] Close to the chamber tomb, in the same layer as the PG Vase, are two burials above the earlier chamber tombs.[405] This tomb was reused in the PG period and fits in with a pattern of chamber tombs that were reused from the preceding Mycenaean period and was related to a featured re-purposing as part of elaborate ancestor veneration, or perhaps hero cult. Reusing burial sites is evidence of continuity between the Mycenaean and PG periods.[406]

At **Pelopidou Street**, 2 tombs (Tomb 4 & 5) have been identified as EIA burials, also dating to the SM or PG period. Tomb 4 was excavated at a depth of 1.90 metres and was box-shaped and covered with slabs and contained a single burial. The goods from this grave have been listed as small bronze earrings (indicating a possible female burial), two small vessels (type not listed), an oenochoe and a damaged vessel (also unidentified from the report). Tomb 5 was found in a poorer condition, half-destroyed, and under a wall. Tomb 5 is a pit tomb with covering slabs. It contained three burials, identified as an adult with two infant burials.[407] The last site to contain any sign of burial activity concerning Early Iron Age Thebes is the burial found at **Pindarou & Kevitos Street (Liokis Plot).** A cist tomb has been found that housed the remains of a child burial. Located in the tomb are three vessels dated to the SM period, although one may date to the EPG, which acts as a *terminus ante quem* for the tomb.[408]

[403] Lemos 2002: 170.
[404] Symeonoglou 1985: 85.
[405] Lemos 2002:170 n.214.
[406] Coldstream 1976: n.29; Snodgrass 2000:207.
[407] Aravantinos 1995: 276-277.
[408] Catling 1987: 32-33.

4.4 Other Areas of Boeotia

Away from Thebes, I have found that only 4 other EIA sites have substantial burial reports (Akondio, Akraiphia, Lake Paralimni and Antikyra), but these are still not up to the standard of sites from previous chapters. Some sites have more extensive reports in general, but other sites contribute little regarding the EIA period. To begin with, the areas with the most detailed or substantial reports are presented first, with the corresponding areas with less intrinsic reports listed in Alphabetical order afterwards (see Section 4.5).

4.4.1 Akondio

In the area of the **Kephissos River**, approximately 2 kilometres from the modern village of Akondio, were 106 graves, 62 of which were dated to EIA graves. From the excavation reports, the burials were discovered in 4 clusters, and there is evidence for use in both the EIA and Classical Periods (see *Table 7*). The EIA graves date from the late 8th century to the second half of the 7th century. From the excavation report, burials were found at 1.50 – 3.00 metres below ground level, with the first cluster at 1.8 – 2.5 metres. The excavation operation was complex due to the river's tendency to flood and the damage to the site by the subsequent drainage.[409] The details provided by the rescue excavation only states the general characteristics of the excavation. No inventory of the individual graves (for both the LG and the Classical Graves) has been published. From the reuse of the site in the Classical period, a further obstruction to our study is the evidence that the graves were also destroyed at some point in antiquity. The site's excavator, Andrikou, sorted the burials into 4 clusters (see *Table* 7). Each cluster was likely categorised due to proximity to each,

[409] Andrikou 1993: 183-4.

but the methodology is not given in the report; the first group (A) comprised 42 burials, including 34 cist graves and 8 *enchytrismoi* burials, found over three successive levels with no discernible chronological sequence, and only 9 graves containing any burial goods. The second group (B) consisted of 14 graves, including 10 cist graves and 3 *enchytrismoi*, all located at the same level. Additionally only 7 of these graves contained offerings. The third burial group (C) contained 5 burials, including 4 cist graves and a pit grave. The final burial group (D) only included 1 EIA grave, and a single cist grave.[410]

Cist graves were the most common of the 62 LG/EA burials, totalling 49 tombs. The cist graves at this site typically had an external dimension of 1.9-2 x 0.8 metres, and the sides were constructed with rough stone slabs, with similar stones used for covers. As cremation burials at this site date to Classical Period graves, inhumation was the primary practice during the EIA. Many burials were found empty, and for those tombs containing offerings, the findings usually consisted of small ceramic vessels, mostly aryballoi, cups, and lekythoi. A few tombs contained iron or bronze jewellery (pins, rings, bracelets). However, the reports do not provide inventories of the burials, so it is difficult to describe trends via chronological period.

4.4.2 Akraiphia

An extensive cemetery has been discovered in ancient **Akraiphia** - modern Akraiphnion near Lake Copais. The burial dates range from the PG to the Hellenistic period, and the excavation data has not yet been extensively published. The details outlined here are based on the available preliminary reports and an analysis of the

[410] Andrikou 1993:183-186.

burials and burial goods from the PG to EA.[411] Reportedly, 46 burials are dated to the EIA, with 17 Adults and 3 Children identified, but no tomb types disclosed.[412] The MG burials consist of small cist tombs and pit graves, with only a few ceramic vessels in situ and some bronze jewellery.[413] Both SPG and LG graves evolve into single pit graves, burials or one or two funeral vessels 'joined by the lip'. These tombs are located at the southern foot of the Acropolis.[414] The ceramics found in this style are mainly Euboean-style ceramics and is dated to the SPGIII, showing a cultural connection. The Geometric period also saw abundant Attic and 'Atticizing' ceramics, especially during the LG Period, numerous handmade vessels, notably aryballoi, very small oenochoe and three large vessels with engraved linear decorations. Numerous bronze items of jewellery, including band-shaped rings, fibulae and bracelets, small iron jewellery, and a small bronze shield, were found.[415]

There is also an anomalous/isolated PG inhumation burial of an adult female in a cist tomb built and covered with limestone slabs at the village's southern end.[416] The Boeotian ceramics found mainly date from the MG era, including low-quality Skyphoi, which imitated Attic works of this period, and black varnished goblets.[417] Corinthian wares include MG handmade amphorae, oenochoai, aryballoi, and miniature pyxides. There were also some LG-painted skyphoi, cups, kraters, and goblets.[418] The Geometric period yielded several notable bronze finds, including two crescent-type bronze fibulae with incised representations, such as an Attic-Boeotian fibula with four incised points. Additionally, there were 2 fibulae with two and four spirals arranged in

[411] Andreiomenou 1994a, 1997.
[412] Papadopoulou 2017:g; Andreiomenou 1994:6.
[413] Andreiomenou 1997.
[414] Andreiomenou 1994a: 13.
[415] Andreiomenou 1994: 82, 104; 1997: 81-83.
[416] Lemos 2002:170; Andreiomenou 1994a: 14.
[417] Andreioménou 1994a:56.
[418] Ibid., 52.

parallel, along with a washer that still turns. The findings also include 2 large iron fibulae, 2 pairs of pins, band-shaped spiral bracelets with incised representations, band-shaped rings incised in tremolo, a bronze fibula - the work of the Swan Engraver, and a small iron knife. Furthermore, the archaeological record mentions 3 triangular soapstone amulets with incisions.[419]

4.4.3 Lake Paralimni



Figure 50: Paralimni, Funerary enclosure[420]

Lake Paralimni. The cemeteries at this site have been reported to be extensive, and again, unfortunately, not a lot has been published regarding them. A cist tomb cemetery with burial periboloi in use from the Middle Hellenic to the Geometric period is located around the foot of the Acropolis (Khelonokastro),

[419] Ibid., 111.
[420] Michaud 1972:706, Fig. 278.

Northwest of the lake near the sanctuary of Ptoös. The periboloi are circular or square. The Geometric burials include all inhumations in cist tombs, which lay on Mycenaean cists and were smaller and poorer than the earlier graves (Fig. 50).[421] Despite the custom change, this occurrence shows the intentional continuation of the settlement using the site as a burial ground.

Another burial group has been partly found at the foot and Upon the hills of the Southwest side of the lake at the site of **Kamilovrisi** and is dated from the Geometric to the Classical period. The available information for this group is linked to the



Figure 51: Kamilovrysi Tumulus, Paralimni Peribolos α,β, and γ[422]

[421] Antonaccio 1995: 211-212.
[422] Touloupa 1966a: 200, Fig. 20.

excavation of a tumulus, listed as 'grave number one' (Fig. 51). The reports do not provide the grave identification or number of the other excavated graves. Papaodopolou also states that in the area of Lake Paralimni, a rich LG 'female' inhumation, was found. This plot also included the burial of 2 infants under the tumulus's central burial which was found face down orientated west.[423] From the archaeological reports, the skeleton was found perfectly preserved, was elaborately dressed, fingers covered with bronze rings, and they reportedly wore an armlet, as well as dress pins, bronze fibulae, and a necklace of paste beads which included 3 composition scarabs (see Fig. 52). In close situ to the body were the statuettes of animals and a gold funerary band.[424] The pottery in the tomb was also high quality,



Figure 52: LG seal from Kamilovrysi Tumulus[425]

including some two-handled skyphoi, pyxides with lids with horse finials, cups, a ladle, and a figured krater dated to the LG period (Fig. 53). The scene depicted on this

[423] Papadopolou 2017al: 305; Touloupa 1966a: 198-201; Spyropoulos 1971: 215-217.
[424] Spyropoulos 1971: 216.
[425] Aravantinos 2010: 143.

vessel is of a warrior carrying a Boeotian shield and also the scene of a groom with a horse in the centre panel, which was possibly used as a grave marker. Female gender has been attributed to the type of finds uncovered, however this has been complicated by the presence of a krater, which conventionally is found in male burials for this period, so more scientific study is needed to provide a definitive answer regarding gender. Other graves of the same period in the tumulus also included swords and daggers, bronze lebes, and more bronze fibulae and dress pins.[426] The typology of goods, the amount found, and their arrangement in the tombs also indicate the dead's social status and economic standing.[427]



Figure 53: LG Krater from the Kamilovrysi Tumulus[428]

[426] Spyropoulos 1971: 215-17; Catling 1973: 19.
[427] Aravantinos 2019: 775.
[428] Aravantinos 2010: 136.

4.4.4 Antikyra

Located in the Antikyra Gulf region are three necropolises that relate to the EIA. More than 150 graves have been excavated here. However, only a sixth has been classified as Geometric or Archaic. At the eastern side of the bay, at the ancient site of **Medeon**, a significant burial ground was located on the hill of Ag. Theodoros housing 266 tombs from the Middle Helladic period to the Hellenistic era. Again, like so many other sites in Boeotia, the details of the tombs have not been fully published.[429] The north and east sides of the Acropolis Hill seem to house the tombs from the LH to the PG period. During the EIA, there is a change from group/multiple burials to single-use tombs. For the period, cremation in a pit (Primary Cremation – Fig. 54, 55) seems to have been practised. Within this context, the presence of broken



Figure 54: Medeon, Remains of Primary Cremation[430]

[429] Papadopoulou 2017h.
[430] Livieratou 2007: 471.

vessels (usually an oenochoe) was placed under the cremated remnant, and indicates libations made. Elliptical rock-cut graves are used in the PG period extending up to the EG Period.[431] Moving into this period, burial customs changed in the 9th century, with cremation (primary) and inhumation practised concurrently.[432] For the inhumation burials, the body was buried in a cist tomb and positioned in a contracted position. Again, libations were made, with the fragments of ceramic vessels found in situ (the employment of an oenochoe seems to have been a constant practice for this rite showing the importance of wine at the funeral whether as a grave good or as feasting debris). There was however a further shift in practice during the LG and EA periods, with a trend of secondary cremation, and enchytrismoi burials for children. Pithoi, jugs, and kraters were used as burial vessels for cremations, with Pithoi also predominantly



Figure 55: Medeon Cremation Pits[433]

[431] Constantinou 1963: 130-132; 1964: 223-224.
[432] Coldstream 2003: 39.
[433] Livieratou 2007: 472, Fig.X.11.

used for the enchytrismoi burials found at this site. Some pottery styles at this site appear Corinthian in style (handmade aryballoi and wheel-made painted ware), with Coldstream suggesting that there may have been a wave of settlers from across the Corinthian Gulf in the area.[434] Conversely, other vessels have been found that appear to be influenced by the Achaean and Western models, suggesting that this site was part of a trade network, and the Corinthian ware found was due to this. Also discovered was a pithos burial, with numerous fragments of cups dated to the second half of the 8th century discovered within the dromos of a Mycenaean tholos tomb (A1 or No.239, Area 5).[435] This burial has been linked to hero veneration, as several contemporary burials were found in the tholos tombs.[436] The tomb was destroyed by the wall encasing its exterior, and the area came to be reused in the Hellenistic period. The minimum number of burials at this site is 52, with at least three of these encompassing the burial of children.[437]

At **Palatia (V. Kaliakoudas' plot)**, 17 graves were excavated. According to the available information, most of these graves probably did not relate to the EIA, and no information was provided regarding their dating. However, what is relevant to our study is a suggestion from the excavation report that shows that these graves belong to the extensive extramural Antikyra cemeteries in use from the Geometric to the Early Christian era.[438] Sherds dating to the SM – SPG periods were found during a survey, showing some activity during this period. However, there is little physical evidence relating to burial practices.[439]

[434] Coldstream 2003: 39.
[435] Vatin 1969:29 cited in Antonaccio 1995: 134, n 519.
[436] Antonaccio 1995: 133-135.
[437] Papadopoulou 2017h.
[438] Papadopoulou 2017i.
[439] Dassios 1995: 356-357.

At the site of **Syros and Kephali hill slopes**, only frequent small rescue excavations have been carried out with little results. The excavation from 1978 found the front part of an extensive cemetery containing various tombs dating from the early 7th century to the Roman era. The only factual information available is regarding Pit Grave 12, which housed an LG krater (Fig. 56). This is because this vessel was either a Corinthian vessel or local ware influenced by this style of pottery.[440] Given the unusual appearance in Boeotia of this vase, it may be influenced or linked to northwest Peloponnese or Western Greece and may be an import.[441] Given the site's access to the Corinthian Gulf and with passing trade to Western Greece, either scenario is likely plausible.



Figure 56: Antikyra, LG local Krater in proto-corinthian style [442]

[440] Themelis 1983: 221-222.
[441] Papadopoulos 2001: 395.
[442] Papadopoulos 2001: Fig 15a.

4.5 Limited information sites

At Ag. Paraskevi in **Agoriani**, a cemetery was found in the field of S. Lambrou, situated on a hill slope and apex, dating to the LG period. Cremation burials and inhumations in pithoi and pit graves were found at this location. Excavated from these burials were clay vessels and gold and bronze jewellery, but little pottery finds.[443] Tile-covered graves are also reported. The site continued in used after the LG period, but no information is available regarding this.[444]



Figure 57: Ellopia, cover over Grave 5[445]

At Vlachogianni reports the find of five tombs and a pyre dating to the SM-PG period at Mornos Canal, 3 kilometres southwest of Thespiai. The burial group consists of three cists tombs (schist built) containing grave offerings, a small pit grave containing a simple inhumation, a pit grave containing an enchytrismos burial with the vessel surrounded by three large stones (Fig. 57), and evidence for an SM-PG Pyre.[446] Grave goods for the inhumation include a Naue II sword, three pins, of which two are of

[443] Papadopoulou 2017j.
[444] Spyropoulos 1973: 272.
[445] Vlachogianni 2000: 397.
[446] Ibid., 397-98.

Deshayes type 1 (with a sphere on the shank just below the disc head), a needle, rings and two spiral tubes (Fig. 58).[447] Unfortunately, the pyre was disturbed, and it is not clear whether its archaeological context was ritual or funerary.[448] The burial date makes this one of the earliest known for the period, and is that of an elite male, given the presence of a high-prestige weapon. The grave goods either indicate this is the burial of a local ruler who may not be affected by the collapse of the palatial system or is the burial of a newcomer from Thessaly, given the historical tradition from Thucydides.[449]



Figure 58: Deshayes type 1 pins, a needle, two spiral tubes, and a Naue II Sword[450]

At the site of Koroneia, a burial was found under **Building A at the sanctuary of Athena Itonia.** According to the excavator, a layer with extensive traces of fire

[447] Morgan *et* al. 2009: 81.
[448] Papadopoulou 2017k.
[449] Aravantinos 2019: 773; *Thuc.1.12.6.*
[450] Aravantinos 2010: 138-139.

containing primary cremation burials was uncovered under *Temple A*.[451] According to a further study by Mazarakis-Ainian, Building A was built on a geometric cemetery, but only one burial has been discovered.[452] This burial dates to the LG period, with the finds consisting of the remains of a bronze vase with a few calcinated bones, a bronze knife, an iron spearhead and an iron sword, with the conclusion that this was a warrior's burial. At Mavroneri two burial plots are dated to the EIA. At **Xylogephira (Skoulaxinou's field)**, bronze objects were found during construction. These were probably from a now destroyed grave, and the base of a pithos was also discovered close to the bronze objects, although further evidence would be needed to link the two conclusively.[453] Part of a cemetery was uncovered **SE of Mavroneri**, here 5 LG graves were uncovered at this site, but nothing has been published regarding the grave contexts or typology.[454]

At **Orchomenos**, the area has been extensively excavated given its role as a palace site during the Bronze Age; however, the information regarding EIA burials contributes to some 4 pages in Coldstream.[455] The information records a group of ten cist graves with finds of Geometric pottery excavated.[456] The cist graves range in date from the SPG to LG period, and the number of burials is not recorded, whilst the finds of pottery, as catalogued and published by Coldstream, include skyphoi, one-handled cups, lekythoi, oenochoai, small oenochoai, pyxides, aryballoi, as well as examples of amphorae. Coldstream does not pass comment on the burial contexts of the ceramic finds as his work focused on establishing a sequence of typology for the Geometric period. The ceramic ware found has an Euboean link in the decorative motifs on

[451] Spyropoulos 1975: 398-405.
[452] Mazarakis-Ainian 1997: 313, 355, Fig. 70.
[453] Papadopoulou 2017l.
[454] Papadopoulou 2017m.
[455] Coldstream 2008: 196-199.
[456] Bulle 1907: 83, Tafel XXX:6-26; 114.

Skyphoi at this site, with a Boeotian variant observed in the design of the pyxides.[457] Further to this, glass beads have been discovered in a cist grave in the area, but no information has been published regarding this burial.[458]

One of the earliest sites to be excavated in Boeotia is **Rhitsona**, and studies were conducted in the early 20th century by Percy Ure and Ronald Burrows, who used relatively modern archaeological techniques of excavation and recording at this site, uncovering the ancient settlement of *Mycalessos*. The cemetery here seems to have been in continuous use from the LG period to the Hellenistic period, and two grave groups have been recorded for the LG Period.[459] The burials that date to the EIA seem to consist of inhumation burials (single graves) with little detail on the grave typology. There are 10 burials for this period, with 4 adults and 1 child identified amongst the remains.

A short distance from Orchomenos is **Vranesi (Ag. Spyridon)**, the burials here were found under part of a conical tumulus, 3 metres high and 7 metres in diameter, which dates from the PG to the MG period. The information recorded is inconsistent with several discrepancies highlighted, the numbers of burials listed differs between Papadopoulou and Desborough with Papadopoulou stating that the excavation uncovered at least five burials, but Desborough specifies 8 burials.[460] The description of any finds from the site is not associated with specific burials. The tombs themselves are described as built and covered with rough stones and were most likely cist tombs. However, Snodgrass states they are pit tombs covered with rough stones – highlighting the ambiguity in the classification (see Section 8.3 and 8.5).[461] For this site,

[457] Coldstream 2003: 38-39.
[458] Papadopoulou 2017n.
[459] Coldstream 2008: 196.
[460] Lemos 2002: 170; Desborough 1972: 202; Papadopoulou 2017:o.
[461] Coldstream 2003:39; Snodgrass 2000: 158-159.

both inhumation burials and cremation burials were found. The excavator also reports a layer of sand with a stone cairn at the centre of the tumulus, but it was impossible to ascertain its use. The finds from the graves show grave goods of pottery and gold jewellery, which indicates an elite burial site with these gifts as offerings. The pottery from the excavated tombs has been catalogued with PG finds including a neck-handled amphora, an oenochoe, skyphoi, and a one-handled cup, all of which date to the end of the PG period. EG-MG finds include two amphorae, three oenochoai, three juglets, a jug, an aryballos, a small hydria, three pyxides, a cup, a kantharos, two adjoining miniature cups, and a coarse jug, all dating to either the EG Period or MG period.[462]

At **Solinari**, several rescue excavations have been conducted (due to the installation of a pipeline across the Boeotian region). In this area, which is identified with ancient Tilphousio, a cemetery dating from the EG period has been located at the foot of Mount Tilphousion (Petra). Aravantinos reports that this cemetery consisted of cremation burials covered by small tumuli. He cited his previous publication in 2010 as the source publication, but upon review, the reference is not accurate. Further to this, given that Aravantinos is talking about a PG cemetery and this site dates to the EG, it is possible that the entry has been confused with the PG cemetery at Vranesi, which is 23 kilometres away and is the only other site nearby that is noted for its small Tumulus burials. All other available references to Solinari by other archaeologists have omitted the tumulus and cremation finds.[463] Using other archaeological sources, finds include unspecified ceramic ware along with bronze and gold jewellery. The style of pottery reportedly shows close contact with Attica, Euboea, and Southern Thessaly.

[462] Papadopoulou 2017o.
[463] Aravantinos 2010: 125-128, 131, 2019:775.

The number of EIA graves for this cemetery has not been published, with the only details published by Aravantinos.[464] The only other details are published as part of the results of the systematic excavation of burial sites of the late Archaic and Classical periods in other sites around Solinari. Given the location of any cemetery in the EIA Period, it is reasonable to assume, given its distance from Thebes, that there was a settlement in this area that has not yet been discovered.[465]

At Ypaton, a burial plot was discovered in the field of I. Petrou during the digging of a ditch. The site dates to the Geometric period and was reused during the Classical period. The Geometric burial plot was discovered at a depth of 0.60 metres, consisting of pithoi graves that seem to have been disturbed in antiquity. The number of burials is unknown. Finds at this site include 3 LG vessels and a multitude of ceramic sherds. In addition, the report points to the possibility of the remains of a peribolos found.[466] Another burial found during construction works is 1 kilometre south of this grave. Not much is known about this burial (even the exact location), and the published record does not give many details to expand upon.[467]

4.6 Burial Trends

In examining the data for burial trends for the EIA, I have encountered several difficulties that have made establishing burial trends specific to each chronological subdivision within the period problematic. The first issue is the ambiguity when it comes to dating burial sites. The study of the EIA is a relatively recent specialisation in Classical Archaeology, and many of the reports date back to when the field was in

[464] Aravantinos 2019: 775.
[465] Blackman 2000: 59.
[466] Spyropoulos 1970: 226-227.
[467] Threpsiadis 1971: 36.

its infancy. Specifically, those published in the mid to late twentieth century and the various excavators working for the Greek cultural ephorates were perhaps unfamiliar with regional chronological sub-divisions for the EIA. Because of this, sites are often described as merely PG or Geometric, and the chronological accuracy seen in a more modern report is therefore lacking when it comes to placing them in the correct chronological sub-division. As seen with the more descriptive data from Athenian burials of the same period (see *Chapter 2*), burial trends can change rapidly according to internal and external social or political pressures between chronological sub-divisions. Consequently, without re-excavation or a more thorough examination of unpublished excavation records and the artefacts found, the same level of detail cannot be assigned to the region of Boeotia as it can be to Attica or Euboea. The second difficulty is that most reports are succinct and lacking in detail. Fossey notes that scholars who study Boeotia in any period must deal with a lack of excavation reports and publications urging greater publishing of rescue digs and full-scale excavation results.[468] In general, the published reports may mention the burial, but fails to list grave type and details of any finds; in addition to this, the report may list several types of graves but withhold details on the number of burials, and therefore, it is difficult to determine if any one style of burial prevailed over the other and what type of burial seemed to be the dominant trend. From the limited data available from the reports, cist and pit inhumation graves are present in all chronological sub-divisions throughout the EIA, ranging from the SM to the LG. However, curiously, the cist grave seemed to drop out of popularity in the EA period, with no recorded instances in this period outside of Thebes. It can be assumed that the elites who controlled the area in

[468] Fossey 2019: 7-9.

the early 7th century—those in charge of Thebes' 're-founding' as a polity—instituted a different burial custom as the new social norm.

During the PG period cist graves, pit burials, and *enchytrismos* burials were introduced. Further, there are instances of the reuse of Mycenaean Tombs and the practice of Cremation (both primary and secondary types). Given the rapid decline in population and the defragmentation of the region's settlements after the collapse of the Mycenaean Palaces, this display of variation may be a product of either personal choice or directly related to the economic circumstances of the deceased's family during the post-palatial period. Indeed, the ritual surrounding burials remained the same as offerings and grave goods are still found at archaeological sites.

In the Geometric period, burial trends coalesce into a smaller number of practices, suggesting that the situation in Boeotia may have somewhat stabilised, with new elites and power figures possibly exerting control (perhaps the appearance of the 'Thessalo-Boeotians' in the region, although that the date of this migration is uncertain so this cannot be ascertained with any certainty).[469] During the Early and Middle Geometric period, there were a few cist graves, pit graves and cremation sites (primary) found. From the end of the MG period, during the transition to the LG period, enchytrismoi graves for the burial of children are again archaeologically visible. In the LG Period, cist and pit graves persisted in popularity, but there were also instances of *pithoi* burials and a fall in the popularity of cremation burials. In the transition from the LG to EA period, cist graves disappeared, with only instances of pit inhumations, secondary cremation and, curiously, a burial in the dromos of a Mycenaean tomb, as an anomalous burial in Thebes. The EA period in Boeotia sees the continued use of pit tombs, pithos tombs, there are instances of primary inhumation, and enchytrismoi

[469] Kowalzig 2007

burials for both adults and children. What is not factored into these trends are the numerous burials from journals that are attributed to the wide-ranging chronological period of 'Geometric'. The burials include enchytrismos burials, pit burials, secondary cremations, and cremation burials where the type is not listed. From a study of burial dispersal locations, it is clear that settlement networks extended west from Euboea via Thebes towards central Thessaly and Phokis, re-ordering the settlement patterns of the LBA.[470] The evidence for clusters is formed by the mortuary data, with burials close to some known settlements, with interspersed sites in between, suggesting an overall agrarian lifestyle, or unknown settlement sites. It is tempting to state that this evidence suggests some sort of pastoral lifestyle such as suggested in the Peloponnese at Nichoria (with the increasing finds of bovine consumption from the faunal evidence at this site), but the evidence is not sufficient.[471] The broad dispersal pattern eventually makes way for greater concentration around sites of greater importance in the LG and EA periods.

Social organisations appear to be based around family units for most communities, with the burial data showing poor to modest wealth as offerings. The social activities see local efforts towards group integration, such as feasting, libations and similarity (on a micro-regional level) in mortuary practices – cementing a social identity for all involved. Social organisation outside of Thebes appears to be based around small settlements and even smaller households (such as at Ascra). Where there are elite burials, such as those in the Tumulus at Lake Paralimni or at Ellopia, these are the exception as the level of wealth displayed indicates that the persons interred held a higher status than usual. The masses of used pottery usually found

[470] Knodell 2021: 157-158.
[471] Sloan et al. 1978; Hall 2007: 61; Mee 2011: 241-242.

within grave contexts indicate that funerary rituals were performed, mainly involving ritual dining or libations. The burial method and grave goods should be seen as an expression of status, with the number of wealthy burials in the wider countryside indicating that power was decentralised for this period. There is some cohesion between larger settlements and the *kata komas* of rural Boeotia with the prevalence of inhumation burials throughout. However, concerning cremation, this is more prominent throughout the EIA outside of Thebes until the EA period, when it becomes more common in or close to burials in settlements (most notably Thebes) correlating with the traditional (re)founding of the *polis* of Thebes. This intensification of cremation burials may reflect an infiltration of families from more rural areas now residing in the town likely. However, outside of burial data, evidence for synoecism is lacking.

CHAPTER 5 - BURIALS IN MAGNESIA, THESSALY

5.1 Introduction

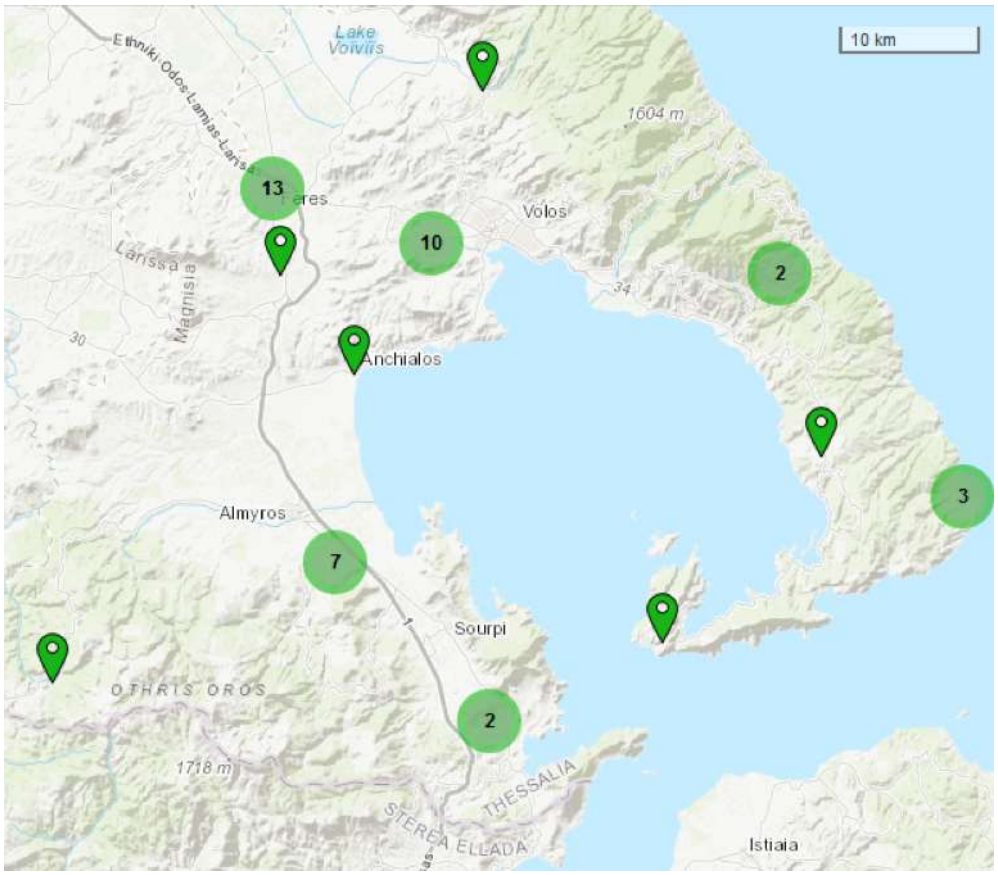


Figure 59: Map of Magnesia, overview of burial plots[472]

The previous regions examined are pretty small in geographical terms, so it has been possible to examine the majority of burials for the entire area. However, Thessaly is geographically larger, spanning from Mount Olympus at its northern border to part of the Spercheios valley at its southern edge. Given its size and location, the region contains much more evidence for activity during the EIA, with evidence for 121 sanctuary sites, 51 settlement sites, and 109 burial *necropoleis* (numbers extracted from The Aristeia Project). Given this focus on the area in recent years, the statistics

[472] Adapted from Mazarakis 2017a.

have been comprehensively correlated and compiled and are reviewed in the chapter on Thessaly by Karouzou.[473] However, this summary does not look at individual sites in a comparative analysis, which is the focus of this chapter. Given the overall size of Thessaly and that the Thesis is examining sites that may have been within the sphere of influence centred around Euboea, it is only feasible to examine areas that may have a direct link to the Euboea and central Greece– that is, sites located in the Pagasetic Gulf, in the modern region of Magnesia (Fig. 59). In this region alone, evidence for 47 necropoleis, 21 settlements, and 5 sanctuary sites shows the extent of activity for this period. The only site systematically excavated in Magnesia is Pherae (modern Velestino). However, there are also good summary reports for sites in Halos and Volos (and its suburbs), which comprise the bulk of burial data for this region. In addition, there is some archaeological data for sites such as Sesklo and Dhimini, Lyri, Theotokou, Trikeri, and Anavra, as well as many smaller anomalous sites. From studying the preliminary excavation reports, burials for this region are usually organised under one of four main chronological periods: SM-PG, SM-G, PG-G, and G. These comply loosely with the chronology established for the regions covered (see Fig. 1), but given the longevity of sites, and the generalisation of the reports, chronological assignment is vaguer in comparison to sites such as Athens and Euboea.

5.2 Velestino (Ancient Pherae)

The area of modern Velestino was occupied continuously from the LBA, throughout the EIA. In **Velestino** at **the Sanctuary of En(n)odia, Zeus Thaulios &**

[473] Karouzou 2019.

Aphrios [*sic*] is an extended PG-G cist tomb cemetery excavated, yielding 45 burials, with 17 adults and 3 children identified, dating from the EPG to LG. The graves were

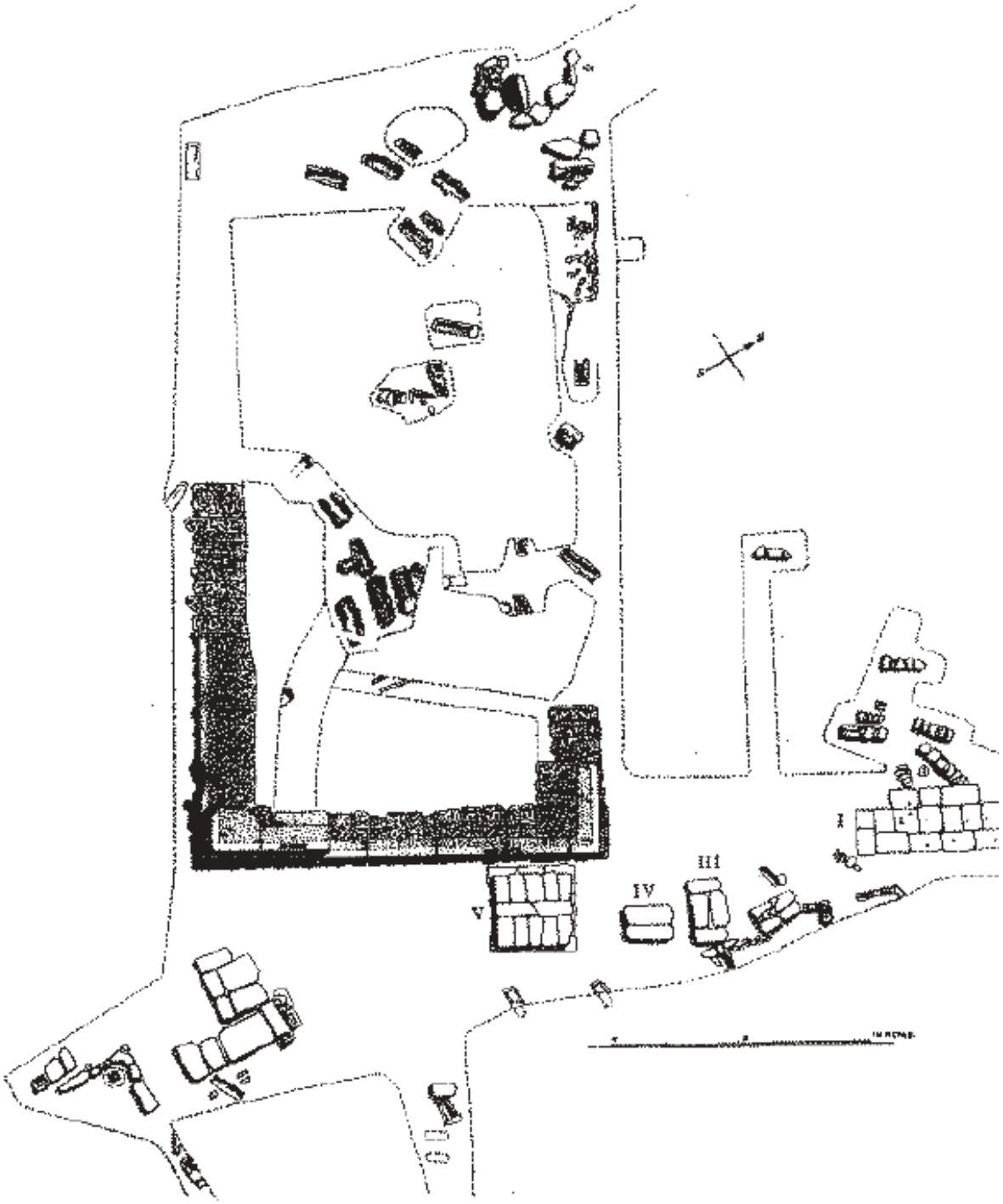


Figure 60: The EIA cemetery at the Sanctuary of Artemis Enodia[474]

[474] Béquignon 1937: pl. VI.1.

found around and underneath the foundations of the sanctuary (Fig. 60). This is unique for the period with the nearest parallel being that if Eretria - burial plot OT 740, which contained one burial near the (near contemporary) sanctuary of Apollo Daphnephoros. At Velestino an extensive cist tomb cemetery has been excavated by Béquignon, with 45 graves uncovered and more graves assumed to have been dug in the area of the later Archaic and Classical temples.[475] This site would most likely have contained even more graves but the corrosive nature of the soil, along with the successive use of the site as a cemetery with the destruction of burials, makes the number difficult to calculate.

The burials relating to the EIA reportedly were constructed from schist and limestone slabs. The smaller tombs contained single inhumation burials, whilst larger graves may have contained multiple inhumations, e.g., Tomb 71-72, which from its size (2.5 x 0.55 metres) contained at least two bodies. The average length of an adult grave is 1.60-1.80 metres, whilst graves measuring between 0.50 and 1.10 metres were probably intended for children. The goods in the graves are poor, with only small quantities of ceramic vessels (such as oenochoe and hydria) and a bronze ornament (fibulae, bracelets, and rings) found in some tombs. Out of the 3739 objects dedicated in the entire sanctuary 98% are local to Thessaly (whilst contemporary sanctuaries at Olympia, Kalapodi and Samos yield different dedication patterns.[476] In addition to the tombs found by Béquignon, 7 EG cist tombs, also built of schist and limestone slabs, were reported by Arvanitopoulos.[477] These cist tombs were primarily found destroyed. The graves contained a single inhumation burial with small quantities of small ceramic

[475] Béquignon 1937: 50-55.
[476] Osborne 2007: 284.
[477] Arvanitopoulos 1926: 37-42.

vessels and iron ornaments. The area also suggest the existence of a nearby settlement dating from the PG to the Geometric period.

Outside of the area of the Temple, other excavations have taken place. In 1997, the Archaeological Service carried out eight emergency excavations, uncovering remains ranging from the Middle Bronze Age to the Late Byzantine period. For the PG and Geometric period, a small tholos tomb was discovered during an emergency excavation at the **Hospital Centre (Boura field)**, located outside the ancient city to the south, an area thought to be unimportant in antiquity. Whilst Tholoi were in common usage throughout the EIA in Thessaly, the use overall is rare outside of Crete and the Peloponnese for this period. The Tholos tomb found is 2.5 metres in diameter by 1 metre in height and contained multiple burials. The tomb was constructed of unworked stones, with its upper part and east side found destroyed. The scattered funerary remnants comprised ceramic vessels, iron weapons, and jewellery (iron fibulae, iron and bronze rings, terracotta, and glass beads). Below these burials, in the centre of the grave, were found burnt bones (belonging to one or more deceased) in a shallow grave. This is the first example of cremation found so far in ancient Pherae.

At **Kastraki Hill** in Velestino, an organised cemetery was located. Burials were located on five different plots of land and ranged from the MBA to the Geometric period. Whilst 27 graves have been described, like many systematic reports, it is difficult to extract information on the exact number of tombs attributed for each chronological period. Plot one was a cist tomb plundered at some point in antiquity. Due to the lack of burial finds and the overall condition of the tomb, it is difficult to date. In Plot 2 (Plot of G. Tsoumbekou), a burial plot comprised of 9 tombs dated from the MBA to the PG period has been found. The PG tombs were simple elongated pits covered with schist slabs. The number attributed to the PG has not been reported.

Among these burials was a double burial of an adult and an infant. The adult, whom the excavators presume is the mother (although no study of the skeletal remains has been published, with the identification of the sex is presumably conjecture), was discovered with no grave goods. On the other hand, the child was given gold, iron, and bronze jewellery and found with a faience bead necklace around its neck suggesting it is female. Above the cover slab, 7 small ceramic vessels were discovered.[478] Amongst the other reported graves, no goods have been reported. However, each grave had a skeleton in the supine position. In Plot 3 were 4 tombs dating to the MBA and PG period. All 4 burials were found without grave goods, and two are dated to 'small' children (no age or description given by the report). In the fourth plot (K. and S. Tsoumbekou), 10 tombs were discovered. Four graves were simple elongated pits covered with schist slabs. They each contained an adult skeleton, 2 of these burials contained grave goods; 2 iron pins were found in one burial, whilst in a separate burial, 2 bronze spirals and a clay spindle whorl were found. In addition to these, 6 small rectangular cist tombs were found. These were constructed of schist slabs and mud bricks and contained the remains of a small child. The bones were found to be heavily disintegrated. One burial (grave number not mentioned) was furnished with a small jug, a necklace with disc-shaped faience beads and an iron pin, whilst the other cist tombs were found with no offerings. In Plot 5 (Chr. Laitsou), 3 tombs dating to the Geometric period have been discovered. These tombs were unusual in that the graves were located in the remains of a Mycenaean-era building. Two graves were pit burials, covered with slabs, and contained a neonate with no burial goods, whilst the third burial was a larger pit burial containing a small

[478] Lemos 2002: 175.

child (age not given in the report). In this grave was found a one-handled ceramic cup. The orientation of these graves was not the same, but they were packed close.[479]

At **Chloe Velestinou**, 13 burials have been found, comprising 12 adults and 1 child. A PG-Geometric tholos and a pit tomb cemetery were discovered 2.25 kilometres from the acropolis of ancient Pherae and 1.70 kilometres from the Sanctuary of En(n)odia, Zeus Thaulios & Aphrios [*sic*]. Initially, details of only one Tholos tomb has been fully published. It measures 1.50-1.80 metres in height, has a diameters of 2-4 metres, and was covered by a stone tholos with the upper side not preserved well. However, further tholoi were also discovered with the widening of the Athens-Thessaloniki motorway. The PG-G cemetery, therefore, now includes a further 8 tholos tombs, 5 pit graves and a cremation pit. The other 7 tholos tombs and 5 pit graves are known only through preliminary excavation reports. These tholos tombs contained multiple inhumations (see Fig. 61), while the pit graves contained an inhumation each. According to preliminary skeletal analysis, at least one child was buried among adults. The skeletal analysis and the offerings, which included iron weapons and jewellery, confirm that the deceased of both genders were buried in this cemetery. They contained numerous burials and yielded high-status burial goods, including iron weapons, gold and bronze jewellery and beads of various materials (with the report being non-specific in terms of the composition of the beads). At the end of the excavation, five grave mounds, probably belonging to the same necropolis, each containing a deceased person with bronze and iron jewellery, were restored for public display along the highway. The tombs (height 1.50 - 1.80 metres), whose entrance

[479] Karouzou & Prappa 2017a.

was preceded by a dromos, are situated to the west and southwest, are circular in plan (diameter 2 - 4 metres) and covered by a stone tholos whose top is never preserved.[480]

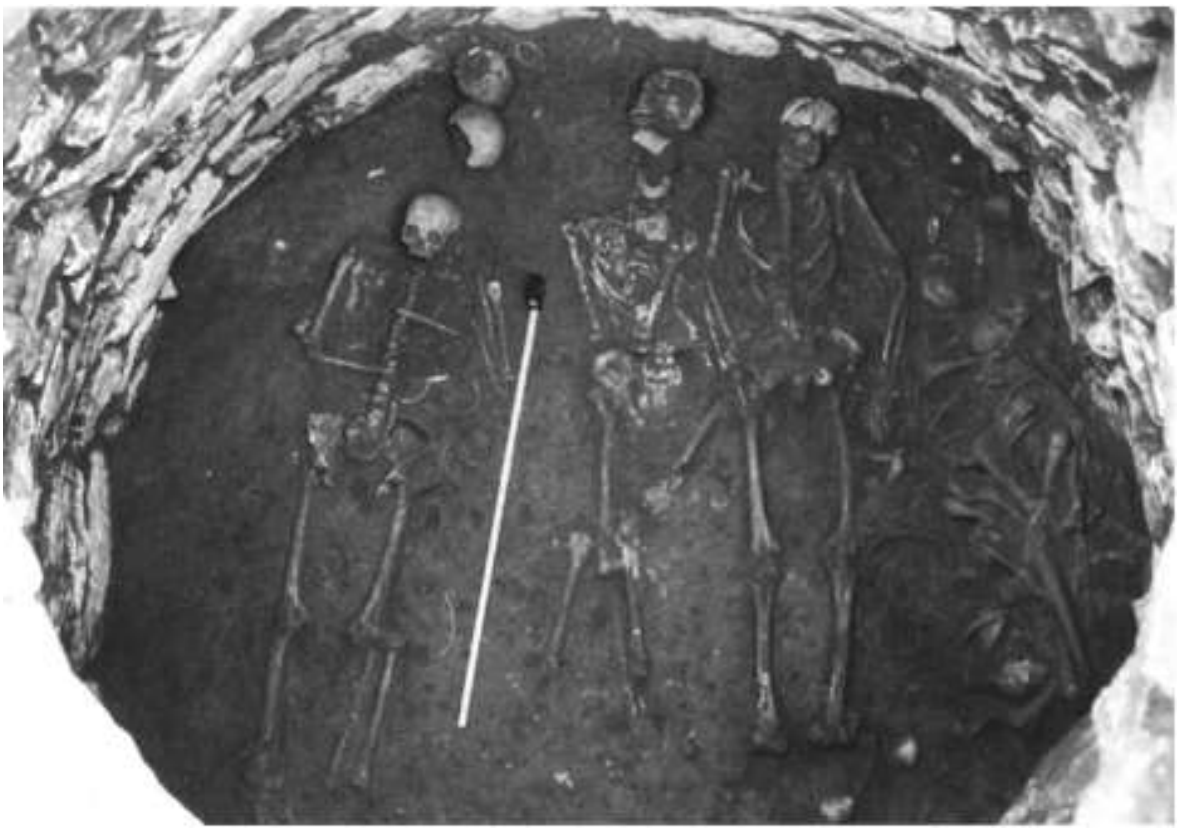


Figure 61: Velestino: Tholos Tomb[481]

At **Alepotrypes**, southwest of modern Velestino 6 cist tombs covered with slabs were excavated, with 4 of these tombs dating to the PG period. The excavations were only short rescue projects, and the finds are not well documented. The date of the burials for the PG period is based on the typology of the ceramic vessels and jewellery found (PG clay vessels, 3 iron pins, a bronze ring, and a stone conical button), with the other 2 tombs dating to Hellenistic period. The EIA burials included an adult inhumation laid out in the contracted position in each cist grave.[482] At the plot of **Tsiphliki (G. Paschou plot),** 2 PG-G pit graves have been excavated. These were

[480] Karouzou 2017c; Touchais Gilles, Huber Sandrine, Philippa-Touchais 2001: 909-910.
[481] Blackman 2001: 64, Fig. 104.
[482] Karouzou 2017b.

located on the eastern edge of the modern city but outside the ancient city. This location is not associated with any known settlement, and there is a question of whether these burials relate to the cemetery seen at the southeast of Pherae (a cemetery that also encompassed burials in the plots of K. & S. Tsoumbekou at Kastraki Hill), or another settlement (possibly a small hamlet further out in rural Magnesia). The pit graves were located within 0.70 metres from each other suggesting the interred were related.[483]

Several anomalous burial sites have been detected around Velestino; on the **east side of the plateau north of Magoula Bakali (G. Karagianni's plot)**, a simple Geometric pit grave was found. The grave contained a single inhumation interred in the supine position and was dug into a middle bronze age layer, and no burial goods were found in the grave context.[484] At **Smolensk Square (K. Kyriazi's plot)**, a small Geometric cist tomb was found containing the burial of an adult. No further details have been published, and the chronological placement of this tomb cannot be pinpointed other than to say it dates to the EIA.[485] At **the municipality of Velestino & Ag. Konstantinos' plots** were 2 small pit tombs containing children above a Mycenaean chamber tomb (One of three sites associated with a previous Mycenaean burial - see burial at Kapakli, Kastraki). It may be possible that these tombs belonged to the same burial ground as the small rectangular pit tomb (0.32 x 0.41 metres, and 0.35 metres deep, oriented North - South) located at the plot of Ag. Konstantinos.[486] In **Velestino at Riga Pheraiou [*sic*] Str. (OTE plot)** a cist tomb was found containing a child. No further details have been published, and the chronological placement of

[483] Intzesiloglou 1997: 467-470; Burkhalter Fabienne, Philippa-Touchais 2003: 889-89; Karouzou 2017a.
[484] Karouzou 2017d.
[485] Karouzou & Prappa 2017b.
[486] Karouzou 2017e.

this tomb cannot be pinpointed other than to say it dates to the EIA.[487] In **Velestino at M. Antipa Str. (E. Hatzitheodorou plot)** a small Geometric cist tomb was uncovered, and again, no other details have been given regarding burial goods.[488]

5.3 Halos

In **New Halos,** at **Agrelia**, 46 burials have been uncovered. This site is an extensive burial site dating to the SM-Geometric period. Rescue excavations took place due to finds that were uncovered during a government widening of the road. In total, 9 cremations, 37 inhumations, and a refuse pit have been found. The 37 inhumations were found in various types of graves: 4 small tholos tombs, 14 cist tombs made of stones (oval shape), 6 cist tombs made of slabs (rectangular shape), 10 pit graves, and 3 circular pit graves with pebble-strewn floor and defined by small stones. The cremations were in circular pits (0.80 x 1.50 metres). The pits were shallow, dug into the soft limestone, and defined by small stones along their edges. The pits contained a layer of ash and the remains of burnt bones, along with burnt ceramic vessels (amphorae, oenochoai, and skyphoi). Additionally 7 pits contained finds of iron weapons, while 2 were only furnished with shells and obsidian blades.[489]

Graves in the cemetery's western part were covered with a Tumulus. The tumulus was surrounded by a peribolos (stone enclosure). The norm was for single inhumation burials, with occupants buried in the supine, contracted or semi-contracted position. Four double burials and 10 cases of reuse of tombs after removing earlier interments have been recorded. The burials were furnished with vessels (oenochai,

[487] Karouzou 2017f.
[488] Karouzou & Prappa 2017:c.
[489] Karouzou 2017g.

skyphoi, and cups), iron, bronze, and gold personal ornaments (fibulae, pins, rings, spirals), iron weapons and tools (swords, spearheads, arrowheads, knives, and daggers), and stone whetstones. A large circular refuse pit (4.50 metres in diameter and 0.90 metres in depth) has been located in the eastern part of the cemetery close to a small tholos tomb (T 36) and two cist tombs (T 42, T 43) dating to the EPG period, this can be classed as a ritual deposit described by the excavator. A low tumulus covered the refuse pit. A standing slab (0.50 metres in height) was found and interpreted as a burial *sema*. The excavation of the refuse pit found traces of ashes, burnt soil, ceramic vessels, animal bones and teeth (animals included goats, sheep, bovines, pigs, and possibly horses). Other small finds include shells and masses of ceramic sherds.[490]

Also within the refuse pit was an inhumation burial. The majority of ceramic vessels come from the refuse pit context, with finds of undecorated closed storage/pouring vessels for everyday use (tripod cooking vessels and other cooking vessels). Fineware ceramic vessels from the Mycenaean to the Archaic period were also found in this excavation context. According to the excavator, due to the wide range of chronological finds, the refuse pit dates to some point in the EIA to Archaic period. Unlike other burials where the refuse pit was used for dining debris from burial rituals or offerings, the pits were domestic, containing refuse from a habitation area. The grave goods were particularly wealthy: 55 ceramic vessels, 70 iron objects (knives, swords, spearheads), 37 pieces of bronze or gold jewellery, stone, and bone utensils, dating from the end of the 10th and especially from the middle of the 9th century. In the eastern part of the necropolis, a large, almost circular sacrificial hearth pit (4.70 x 3.70 metres, depth 0.90 metres) was found; the backfill contained burnt

[490] Karouzou 2017g.

remains of animal bones, shells, and ceramics from LHIIIC1, which suggests that this part of the necropolis was in use from LHIIIB-IIIC.[491]

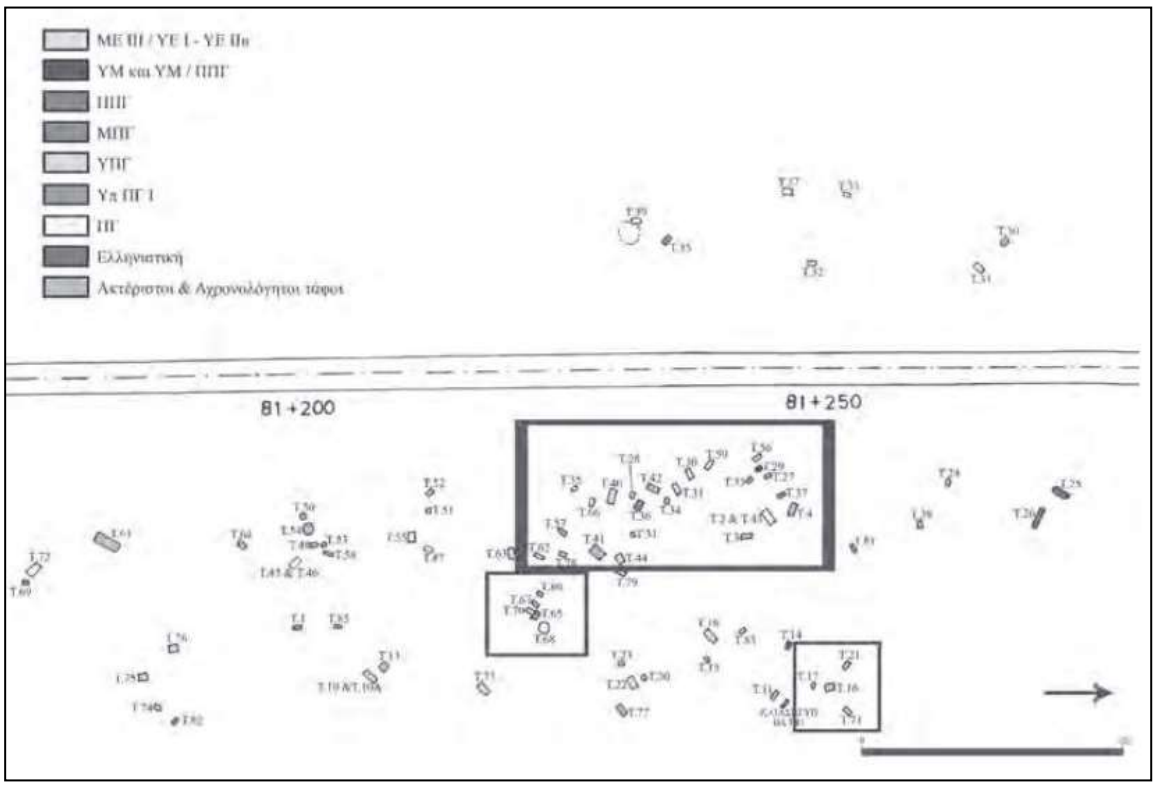


Figure 62: Voulokaliva. Plan of SM-SPG cemetery with inhumations (South section)[492]

North of **New Halos,** at the site of **Voulokaliva**, a tumulus cemetery was discovered covering 3500m² or 14 acres, with 38 burials dating to the EIA (see Fig. 62). The National Road crosses the cemetery, dividing it into two parts, east and west. So far, the cemetery has not been fully excavated, so the numbers reported are only provisional. 22 graves belong to the LH period, 38 to the SM up to the SPG, 11 are Hellenistic graves, and the rest date is uncertain. Some SM-SPG graves are organised into 5 clusters according to their orientation or construction. Each cluster contained adult and child graves, representing several generations, with the excavator interpreting them as family plots. Only the details of 38 graves have been published.[493]

[491] Malakassioti 1999: 391-393; Philippa-Touchais, 2004: 1437.
[492] Karouzou 2017:372.
[493] Prappa 2017a.

The excavation of the eastern sector revealed cist tombs for children and adults, simple inhumation graves, pit tombs, and jar/pit burials. Thirteen refuse pits were excavated, dating to the LH and Geometric periods. Ceramics of various forms (skyphoi, beakers, oenochoai, kantharoi, amphorae, and jugs), weapons (iron spearheads, nails, daggers, and swords) and jewellery (fibulae, pins, bracelets, and earrings) were found. The excavation of the western sector revealed mainly cist graves and enchytrismoi graves. Some of these burials were not furnished, with graves in this part of the cemetery dating to several periods, including LHIIIC, the Geometric period, and the Hellenistic period, 6 from the Geometric period and one from the LHIIIC. Additionally 9 refuse pits were also excavated, of which 2 supposedly contained 'Hellenistic-period furniture' and 4 geometric-period materials (the others could not be dated). Doubt has been cast on the find of 'Hellenistic-period' furniture given the disparity in age between the Hellenistic and Geometric periods. Most of these 'dumps' were found next to tombs, suggesting they were cleared of their contents and reused in the Hellenistic period.[494]

The mound in the northeast of the site covered 104 stone-enclosed pits containing cremations, four vaulted graves, 16 cist graves of children and 4 simple burials of adults (Fig. 63). In the northeast quarter of the mound, the remains of a 'peribola' consisting of a row of stones are associated with small constructions of horizontal and vertical slabs, identified by the excavators as offering tables.[495] There are 24 such constructions; some were found in the cremation pits. Among the material collected from the graves are metal weapons (swords, knives, spearheads), ornaments (clasps, fibulae, rings) and ceramics of various forms (small amphorae,

[494] Boras 2014.
[495] Boras 2010.

skyphoi, oenochoai, jugs, bottles, and aryballoi) with painted geometric decoration. The burial mound is dated to the PG period to the end of the 7th century.[496] From studying the corrosion patterns and composition of metal bowls as well as an analysis of the alloys used in the weapons and jewellery from the pit graves (via powerful microscope and x-ray analysis), it has been found that the metals used a tin-rich bronze coating across the entirety of the object (the earliest example of this technique in the EIA), with a large majority of the copper in the original metal showing a provenance away from Thessaly (suggestion of material from Cyprus is the most prominent interpretation).[497]

In 1911-12, ten tumuli were excavated in this area. Subsequent excavations from 1989 – 2003, conducted by 'The Halos Archaeological Project', uncovered more than 40 additional tumuli.[498] The tumuli at this site, formed from stones and earth, were difficult to locate due to their low height. Their original dimensions are unknown due to the constant agricultural working of the land. The latest reporting states that 6-7 tumuli have been excavated. Only two mounds seem to date to the EIA 1990/7 & 1990/36 and remained in use during the Archaic period (See Fig. 63). Furthermore, another of the two excavated mounds - 1990/28 and 1990/30, show evidence of Corinthian pottery and large quantities of Attic black-figure ware spanning much of the 6th century. In addition, 1990/44 has also yielded some 7th century ceramic vessels. Finally, 1990/14 is the only site that yielded predominantly Archaic finds, with high amounts of fine 6th-century ceramic vessels. The cemetery contains 358 burials, 295

[496] Malakasioti 2001-2004: 487–489; Morgan *et.* al 2009: 99-100.
[497] Rehren, Asderaki-Tsoumerkioti and Malakasioti 2009.
[498] Stissi 2016.

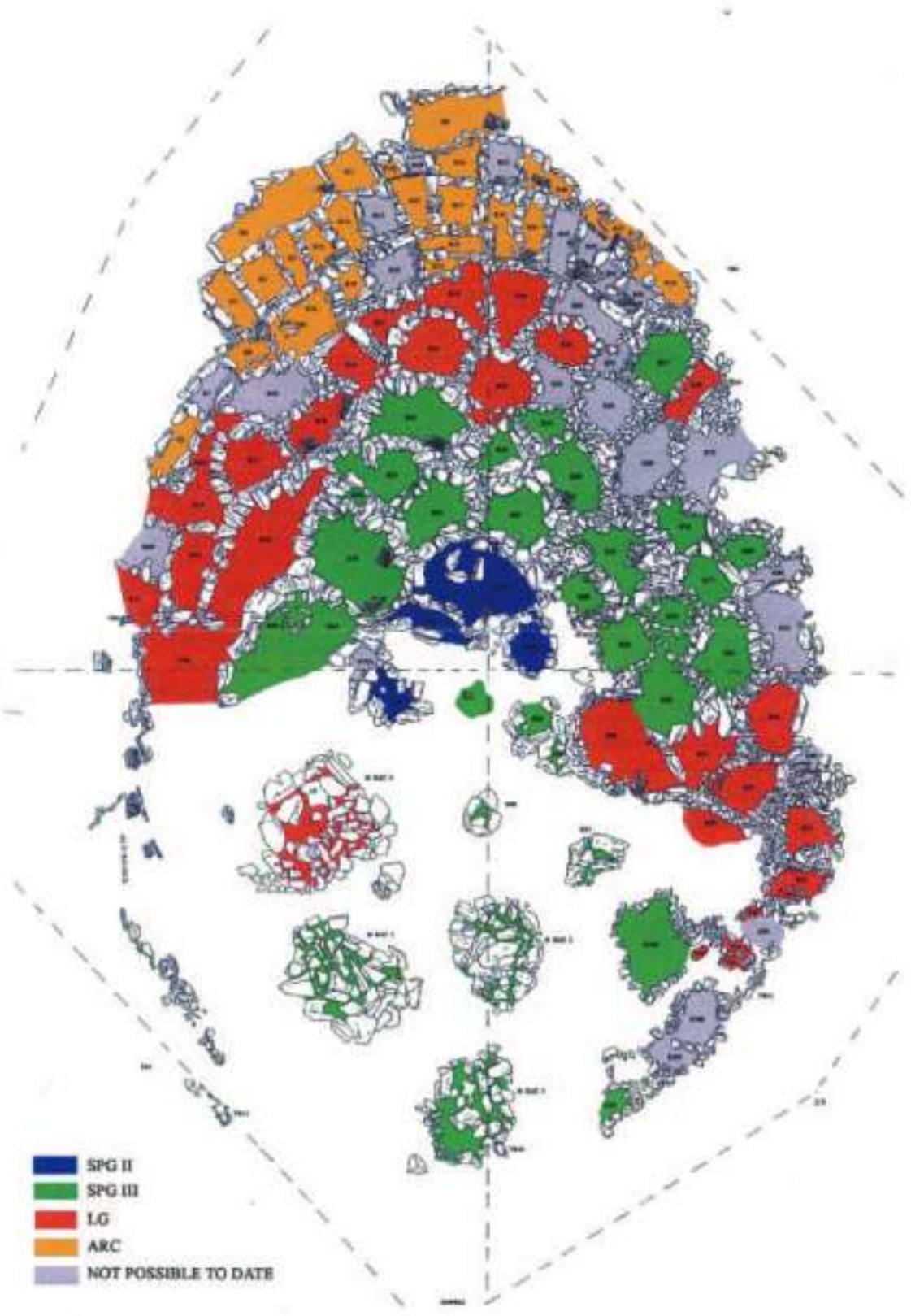


Figure 63: Voulokaliva Tumulus 3[499]

[499] Karouzou 2017:379.

adults and 63 children.[500]

Also at Halos is the site of **Kephalosi**. A burial plot of 11 cist tombs was excavated near the foot of the Classical acropolis of Halos. These tombs comprised 2 adults, 7 children, and 2 unknown burials. The cist tombs were built of slabs. The burial practice predominantly used at children, usually found lying on their backs. Tomb 9 contained a double burial of adults in a contracted position. In addition to this, three tombs did not contain any skeletal this site is that of inhumation, and according to the excavators, there was no sign of cremation practised. Except for Tomb 9, the burials contained only skeletons of remains. There is some ambiguity regarding Tombs 7 and 8, with the excavator stating that they had low walls or no walls, which suggests that these could be pit tombs (not cist tombs). Tomb 6 may have been a Tholos Tomb as it is a round stone enclosure with three courses of stones, although no door was described. No skeletal remains have been found. Most other tombs contained ceramic vessels and a few personal ornaments. These ceramic vessels are dated to the beginning of the PG period.[501] Several tombs did not contain any offerings. It is not mentioned if the 11 burials were intramural or not.[502]

Also, at **Kephalosi,** southwest of the wall of Hellenistic Halos**,** there are 24 intramural inhumations of children found amongst the remains of three SPG-LG buildings (Fig. 64). These burials are known only through preliminary reports, and not much information is available about each tomb individually. The graves were scattered across an area of 500 square meters and did not exhibit a specific orientation. They were mainly cist graves containing a single inhumation burial. According to the reports,

[500] Karouzou & Prappa 2017d.
[501] Lemos 2002:175.
[502] Karouzou 2017h.

the previous burials may have been pushed aside in two graves for a new double interment of infants. Most skeletons were found in the extended position, with only a few in the contracted position. Half of the burials were found furnished with some grave offering. Grave finds include ceramic vessels, such as feeding bottles (primarily associated with child burials), cups, skyphoi and trefoil oenochai, bronze earrings, fibulae, rings, iron pins, a gold coil spiral, a necklace of faience beads, and a lead

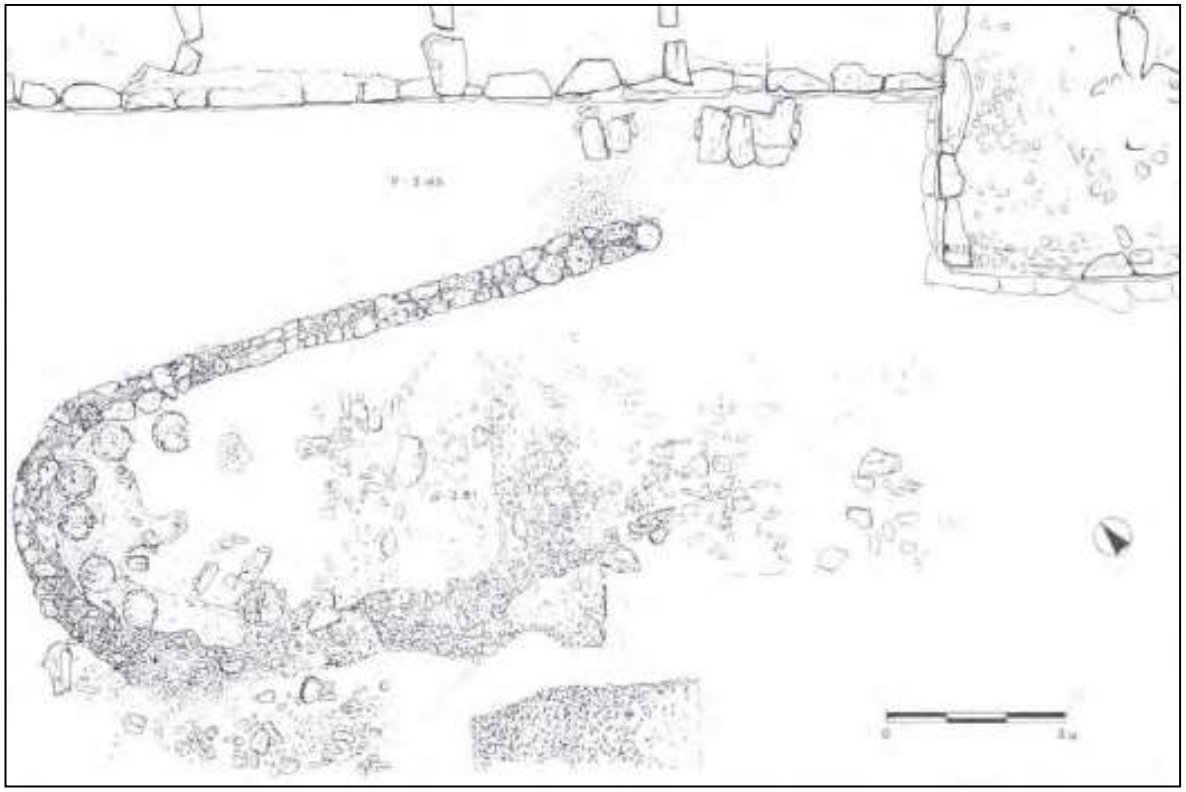


Figure 64: Kephalosi, SPG-LG apsidal building intramural cist grave with child inhumation [503]

wheel. It has also been recorded that the jewellery was found on the bodies of the deceased. According to the excavator, the grave offerings and especially the ceramic vessels found in these burials are closely aligned with the cemetery close by Agrielia.[504]

[503] Karouzou 2017:372, Fig. 12.
[504] Karouzou 2017i.

A Geometric tholos tomb has been found at **Grassidia** (also outside the walls of Hellenistic Halos). The Tholos tomb was discovered during works for installing and operating a quarry at Grassidia near Platanos Almirou. The Tholos tomb was located close to an extensive Hellenistic cemetery. The excavators believe the tomb could be associated with the cemetery found in nearby Voulokaliva.[505] Close to this is also the site of A**lmyros – Ag. Nikolaou**. During work to widen the national road in the municipality of Almyros, 68 child graves were discovered. Most of the tombs date from the PG period and the beginning of the Geometric period. The cist tombs were covered with slabs and included miniature vessels, fibulae, pins, small items of jewellery placed on children's clothes, small bracelets, small beads, metal strips, baby bottles and a sphere in gold that adorned the hair of an infant girl.[506]

5.4 Sesklo and Dhimini

At Sesklo, LH material has been found between **Kastraki and Pyrgos Hills**, along with numerous PG-Geometric tombs. Further to this, 5 small tholos tombs have also been excavated. In the preliminary report, the size of the Tholoi was compared to the larger Mycenaean tombs and their uneven and rough construction, usually from stones and slabs.[507] There was the use of secondary cremation practised in one of the tombs, with the ashes of the cremation taken from a pyre and placed within a pit inside the structure. In the tholos designated as 'Tomb 1', a burial was found in the dromos with a few offerings in a pit, although details remain lacking.[508] At **Kastraki Hill (the Acropolis of Sesklo)**, LH material has been found interspersed with the recorded PG-

[505] Karouzou 2017j.
[506] Bouras 2012.
[507] Theocharis et al., 2022.
[508] Lemos 2002:174.

G group of tombs. Initially reported were two groups of tholos tombs containing PG-G ceramic vessels. Again, information is pulled from preliminary reports, and the information is limited.[509]

Further north on the slopes of **Kastraki Hill**, additional LH material has been found, along with numerous PG-G tombs. A small PG tholos tomb has been excavated. However, the burial was destroyed during 'public works' (no other description attached) and was afterwards plundered. It contained only a few bones and grave offerings. Within the modern settlement of Sesklo, there are reports of PG-Geometric burials, including a pit tomb containing PG ceramic vessels and an iron spearhead. No further information is provided.[510] At **Dhimini** – A tholos tomb and 2 cist tombs dating to the PG-G were discovered at the site of **Toumba**, a natural hill just outside the village of Dhimini. The Tholos tomb (described by the excavator as a pseudo-Tholos) is close to the Mycenaean Tholos tomb of Toumba, while the two cist graves are located on the North Acropolis of Dhimini. The Tholos tomb contained 2 adult inhumations, while each cist grave contained a single adult inhumation. The graves contained PG-Geometric ceramic vessels and other grave offerings.[511]

5.5 Volos

The coast is a short distance from Dhimini, with the site of Volos dominating the local mortuary architecture. Located at both sites are several graves dating to the EIA. The most prominent site is **North-West of the Krausi(n)dona torrent** [*sic*]. Located here is an extended cemetery with more than 500 tombs excavated through rescue

[509] Karouzou 2017k.
[510] Karouzou 2017l.
[511] Lemos 2002:174; Karouzou 2017m.

excavations. Whilst the earliest known burials date from the Early Helladic, this site also houses PG, Geometric and EA burials in rectangular cist tombs made of schist slabs or stones. A large majority of the graves do not specify a chronological period. However, preliminary reports state that the site was continuously used between the Mycenaean and Byzantine periods. Among the tombs with specific dating, 51 are attributed to the EIA period. The burial goods from these tombs appear to be predominantly small, consisting of ceramic vessels and personal ornaments such as iron or bronze fibulae, pins, and rings. One pithos burial, dating to the EIA, has also been reported in this cemetery. Perhaps the most intriguing discovery at this site was a tholos tomb with a diameter of 3.50 meters, resembling Kapakli's tholos tomb (see below). Preserved at a height of 1.35 metres and equipped with a small dromos, it contained several burials. Initially used in the PG period, it was reused in the classical period. The PG grave was particularly rich with 38 vessels, an iron sword and a terracotta spindle whorl found.[512]

In 2007, a rescue excavation on the ***Katsoupi-Vapheiadou field*** located on Dimokratias Street uncovered two tombs from the Geometric period belonging to a larger necropolis. These are two cist tombs, oriented East-West, each containing one burial, with the skull placed towards the East. Only one of the tombs had three vessels placed on the outside.[513] In 2008, a salvage excavation took place on the Kapetania field, located on Kolokotroni Street, revealing the remains of a necropolis that extends west of the Xiria torrent. Within this necropolis, archaeologists unearthed ten cist tombs and one tholos tomb dating from the PG and classical periods. The tholos tomb, with a diameter of 2.20 meters, maintains a low height of 0.55 meters and has its

[512] Burkhalter & Philippa-Touchais, 2003: 887-888, Triantaphyllopoulou 1997: 457 – 459.
[513] Bouras 2007.

entrance oriented to the northeast. It served as a multiple burial site, although no skeletons were found in their original positions on the dirt floor. The excavator believed that these were secondary burials and cremations. The features dates from the PG period and only includes ceramic wares (jugs, skyphoi, skyphoi-canthares). Similarly, the cist tombs, which date from the same period, contained multiple burials (two to four) and included ceramic vessels, a bronze dagger, and bronze pins.[514]

At **Kapakli** (at Paspalia and along Kolokotroni Str.), a cluster of 5 tholos tombs has been reported. These tholos tombs were part of the Nea Ionia cemetery as they were located amongst the tombs of this cemetery. One was built during the Mycenaean period and possibly reused in the PG-G period, while the rest were built in the PG-G period and reused during the Classical period. According to the excavation reports, the tomb contained multiple inhumations. Traces of fire found in the tomb should be considered animal sacrifices or fumigation. The other tholoi, dating to PG-G, contained many interments, ceramic vessels, and metal objects. According to the excavators, the mortuary practices employed ranged from primary cremation to secondary cremation and inhumation. Since these graves are only preliminary published and were used for an extended period, according to the excavators, which deposits date to a specific chronological period is unclear. As such, it is hard to extrapolate the mortuary practices of the period and the number of graves.[515]

At the site of **Kastro Volou**, 29 intramural burials were found in rectangular buildings, dating from the SM/EPG to SPG.[516] The majority of the burials were cist tombs constructed of stones or slabs. The graves contained a single child inhumation,

[514] Bouras 2008.
[515] Karouzou 2017o.
[516] Mazarakis-Ainian 1997: 249-50.

and a further three contained double burials. The preservation of the skeletons appears to be very poor, with cups and jugs standard amongst grave goods. These small ceramic vessels appear similar to those found in the settlement context. It should be noted that out of the 56 vessels found, only two were feeding bottles.[517] An excavation in 2004 uncovered three small cist tombs dating to the PG period at this

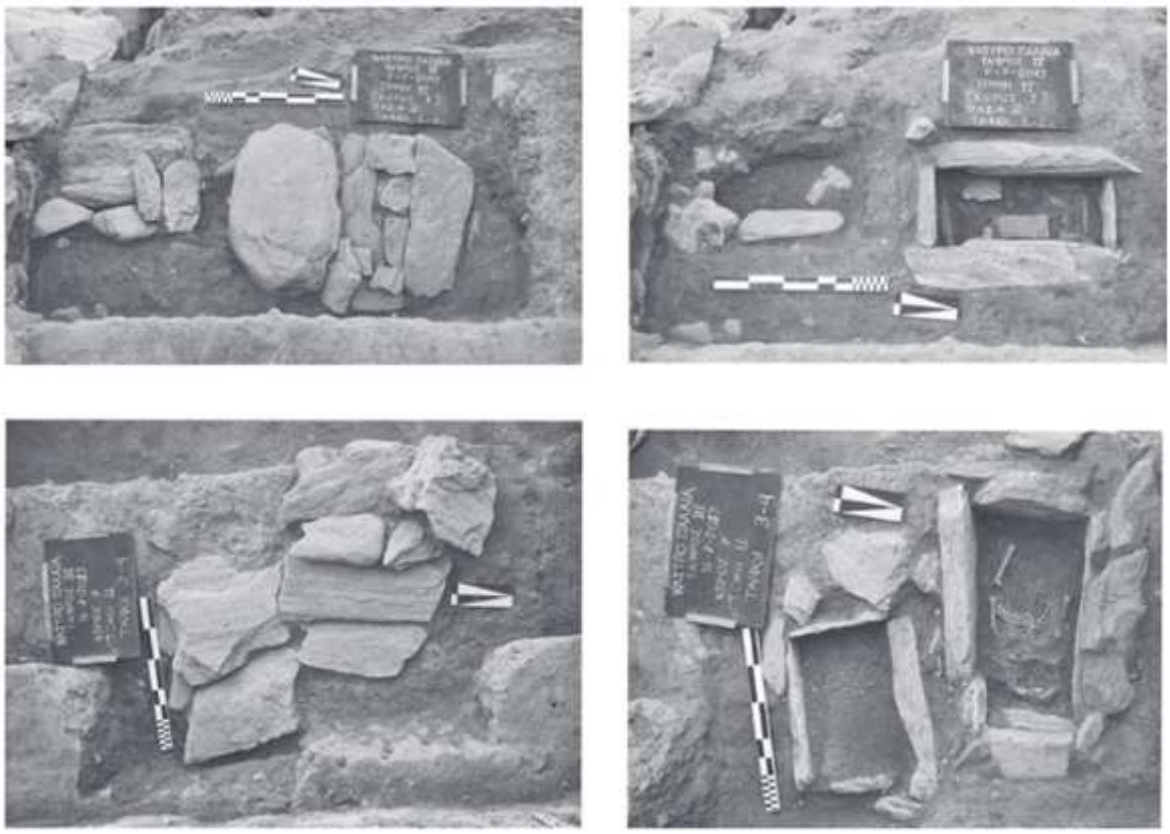


Figure 65: Kastro Volou, area of Palaia. 'Tombs 1-4' including Two PG intramural child burials[518]

site, one of which is that of a child with two goblets (Fig. 65).[519] Further, when the site was excavated between 2012 and 2013, the findings revealed a domestic space extrapolated from the clay used as a floor surface. Also found were in-situ storage vessels, abundant shards of ceramics (some with painted decoration), bone and stone tools, coils and clay spindles. Also revealed was an area dating to the PG period

[517] Karouzou 2017p.
[518] Karouzou 2017: 369.
[519] Skafida *et al.* 2013: 472-478.

('Space 2'); within the foundations were the 4 intramural burials of children in cist tombs close to an adult burial with finds of a bronze ring.[520] At **Peukakia, on the Pharos / Tarsanas promontory** 6.7 kilometres south of Volos, a Geometric cist dating to 800-700 was excavated, with finds of 2 PG ceramic vessels in the East end of the Pharos / Tarsanas peninsula. A burial ground may have existed here during the PG-G period, although no further information has been provided.[521]

At Nea Anchialos – **Paspalia**, located 19 kilometres southwest of Volos, there is evidence of activity from the PG-G period suggesting a settlement related to this era. However, no architectural remains have been excavated in this context. Approximately 800 meters west of the harbour, a substantial tholos tomb of LPG-SPG origin was found (Fig. 66). A charred stratum was unearthed inside the tomb, housing a mixture of human and animal bones intertwined with offerings. Notably, these human remains, and the accompanying grave goods were subjected to joint incineration, evident through extensively burnt amphorae fragments interspersed among them. Furthermore, an additional four tholoi were also uncovered. These tombs exhibited prolonged utilisation, spanning from the commencement of the PG period to the SPG era. They contained diverse burials, encompassing inhumation burial and primary and contained diverse burials, encompassing inhumation burial and primary and secondary cremations. The excavator reported that the grave goods included ceramic vessels, bronze ornaments, jewellery, and weapons.[522]

[520] Skafida *et al.* 2012: 386-389; 2013 472-478.
[521] Karouzou 2017q.
[522] Batziou-Eustathiou, A., 2011: 595-608; Karouzou 2017y.

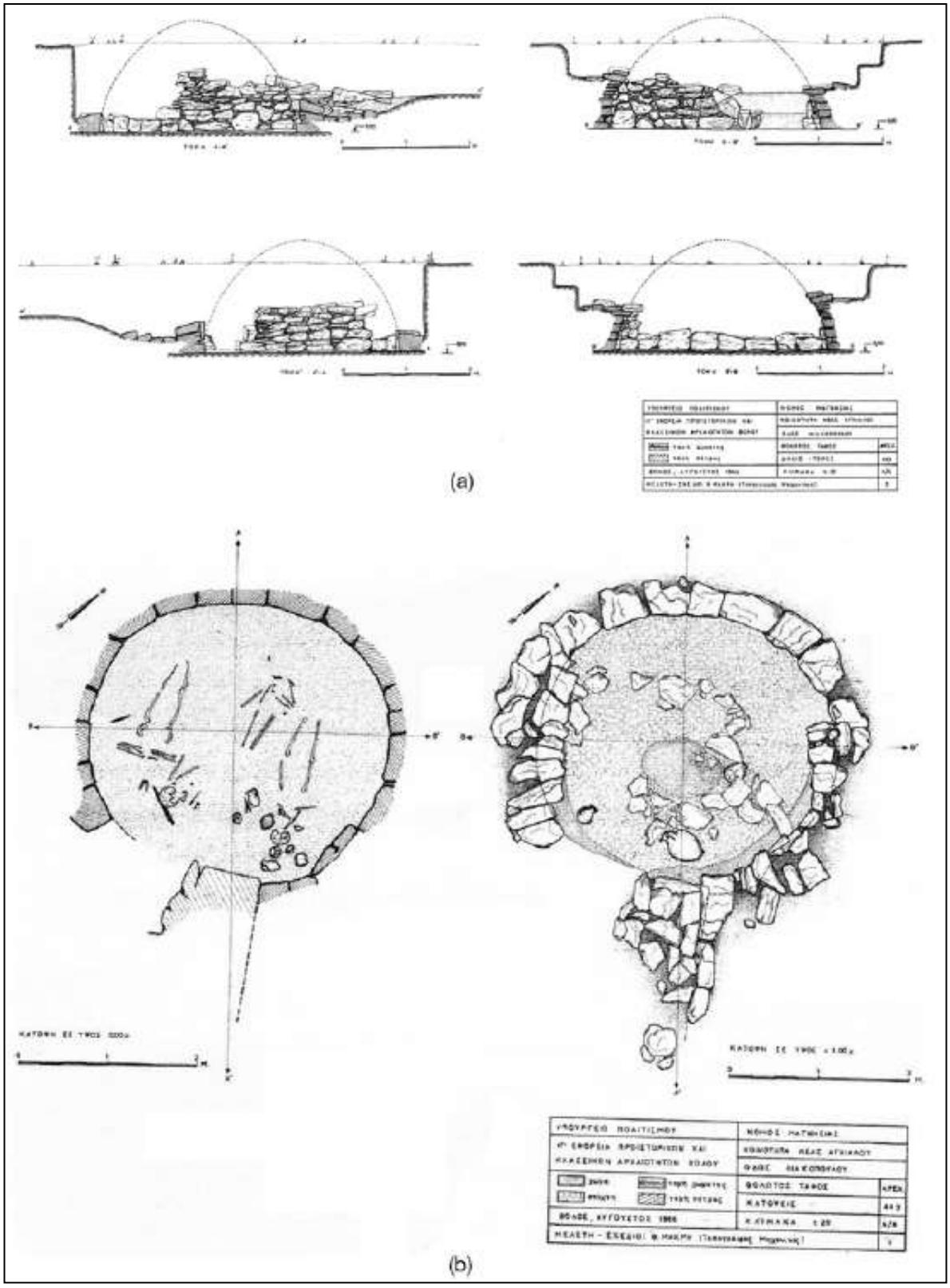


Figure 66: Sections and plans of the LPG-SPG tholos tomb at Nea Anchialos[523]

[523] Karouzou 2019: 897.

5.6 Lyri, Theotokou & Trikeri

At Lyri, on the **rural road from Lyri to Theotokou**, an EPG cist grave was found. However, no further details are given regarding burial finds or occupants.[524] Furthermore, a tholos tomb was uncovered at **Karageorgi's field in Lyri**. According to the excavator, the tholos tomb contained the remains of 3 inhumations furnished with ceramic vessels. No further information is provided. It is possible, however, that this is a PG-G tholos tomb.[525] At **Theotokou** (ancient Sepias), 3 cist tombs were found close to the chapel of the Virgin. Tomb A was located next to Ag. Georgiou on its west side, while Tombs B and C were found in a field south of the church. The site was excavated by Wace & Droop, who dated these tombs to the Geometric period. However, upon further review, Lemos later dated them to the PG period based on the ceramic finds.[526] The cist graves found were comprised and covered with schist slabs and contained disturbed human remains, a conical clay spindle, three indeterminate metal objects and another in bone. However, this material does not allow an established chronology. In that case, one can imagine that this tomb dates from the end of the Bronze Age or the beginning of the Geometric period because of its similarity to burials of these periods excavated previously nearby.[527] In addition to these tombs, the site of **Trikeri** can be included, as Corvisier includes Trikeri in his map of sites in Thessaly with Geometric cist graves.[528] However, no further information is provided concerning the cist graves or their exact location.[529]

[524] Karouzou 2017r.
[525] Karouzou 2017s.
[526] Lemos 2002:175.
[527] Vouzaxakis 2012: 380-382.
[528] Corvisier 1991: 22.
[529] Karouzou 2017t.

5.7 Thessalian Anavra

Anavra at a place called **Ckaramolongos** or **Koumarorachi**, located west of the Kastro of Morias (possibly identified as ancient Phyliadon), a rescue excavation made it possible to uncover two tholos tombs (diameter 2.60 metres and 2.25 metres) whose vaults had collapsed. A cist grave containing multiple inhumations was found in the west part of Tholos Tomb I, while no skeletal remains were found in Tholos Tomb II. The finds (fragment of a small iron dagger, bronze ring and rings, illegible bronze coins) suggest that the tombs were built in the late 10th or first half of the 9th century and were reused in Roman times. The dating of these tombs is very problematic since no ceramic vessels were found in them.[530]

At **Anavra – Alonaki,** rescue excavations on the E65 road found a peribolos with burials dating between the PG – Classical period. In total 33 burials were found on this site in total. The excavation revealed a stone pile with orientation NW - SE and dimensions 39 x 28 metres a rectangular peribolos (4.60 metres x 3.90 metres) has been unearthed, formed by slabs of schist and limestone placed vertically and rubble. This structure would enclose seven cremation burials in large standard ceramic urns. The vessels were large coarse urns (chytra, amphora, krater). In the burial vessel, metal weapons (spears, arrowheads, and knives) and jewellery were found. Some of the graves were marked with either a wedge of rough or flat rubble, a smaller vase, or a flat stone, and their position was probably indicated by flat limestone rubble as a memorial *sema*.

Directly to the north-east a group of 25 tombs (19 shaft graves, 6 pit graves containing a secondary deposition and 1 cist grave) circumscribed with rubble was

[530] Malakassioti 1998: 423; Karouzou 2017u.

discovered) - including 4 to 5 children's graves - probably related to a second peribolos. The cist grave probably housed an infant also. The burials yielded ceramics (vessels for drinking or pouring - skyphoi, cups, kantharoi, oenochoai and jugs), and close to the legs or head of the skeleton, bronze or iron jewellery (fibulae, pins, rings, pearls, buckles,), iron weapons (spear or arrowheads, daggers), glass, amber or carnelian beads. The burials can be dated through the grave goods between the PG and EA periods, with pit tombs dating to the LG or the EA period. The same type of material, as well as anthropomorphic or zoomorphic figurines, was collected in the space around the graves, and a low tumulus covered with stones may have existed above.[531]

5.8 Miscellaneous

Several sites along the Magnesian promontory are insufficiently reported because they were excavated in the early 20th century. In these sites, groups or isolated small tholos tombs are located, but not much information is recorded regarding their exact date and length of use or archaeological context. Arvanitopoulos mentioned them as Geometric.[532] The chronology is not exact but may also include the PG period. More study is needed to determine exact chronology.[533]

At **Argalasti – Palaoikastro**, a tholos tomb, dated to PG-Geometric date, was found at the site, close to the small village Pais, relatively close to Argalasti. No further information is provided.[534] At **Mileai – Petroton,** a group of Geometric tholos tombs was located at the site of Petroton, close to the road to Tsagarada. According to the

[531] Karagiannopoulos 2012: 408-417.
[532] Arvanitopoulos 1910.
[533] Lemos 2002: 175.
[534] Karouzou 2017v.

excavator, Arvanitopoulos, 7 skeletons were found in one of the tholos tombs with ceramic vessels, stone tools, and beads. No further information is provided.[535] At **Labinou – Diasella**, a group of Geometric tholos tombs was located at the site of Diasella, near the village of Labinou.[536] At **Modern Pteleos**, which is situated on a rocky hill called **Gritsa**, remains of an MH settlement were located on the NW slopes, with LH material also reported. The site houses Tholos tombs from the Middle Helladic and LH periods. The PG vessels inside Mycenaean Tholos Tomb 3 indicate that the tomb was reused during this period.[537] At **Kerasea (NW Mt Pelion),** a cluster of 3 Geometric tholos tombs was found at the site of Lestiani on the northwest part of Mt Pelion. The tholos tombs were built of small stones covered with slabs and were robbed in antiquity. A small empty pit was found at the centre of each tomb. Only some Geometric sherds were found in the dromos of the largest tholos tomb. The tholos tombs most probably contained multiple burials.[538] At **Zerelia – Kastraki**. A few PG sherds, according to Wace & Thompson, were discovered. From this location, 8 SM-PG cist tombs have been discovered.[539] At **Lake Karla–Penintaria,** a salvage excavation in 2007 was conducted and unearthed two pit graves and stonework. The tombs are dated to the 8th century and contain the burials of children (burial type unspecified) along with ceramic vessels.[540]

5.9 Burial Trends

Like Boeotia, the various excavation reports are ambiguous when it comes to dating tombs; the majority of reports do not give details of individual tombs but rather

[535] Karouzou & Prappa 2017e.
[536] Karouzou & Prappa 2017f.
[537] Karouzou 2017w.
[538] Karouzou & Prappa 2017g; Lemos 2002: 175.
[539] Karouzou 2017x; Wace & Thompson 1912.
[540] Bouras 2007a.

comment on numbers and the longevity of the various burial *necropoleis,* and the chronology is unspecific (see *Section 5.1*). This makes establishing burial trends specific to each chronological division of the EIA difficult, and what is described is only a general overview. Breaking the numbers down out of the 46 sites examined, 31 burial plots seem to fall into this category. Despite the limitations that come from this, what is highlighted is an unusual amount of continuity and stability for the region in contrast to what has been seen in the other regions around the Euboean Gulf and central Greece so far. As well as the longevity of burial sites, settlements such as Volos meet the criteria for a stable settlement, in stark parallel to Athens, Thebes, and Lefkandi (see Whitley for a definition of stable settlement).[541] Examining the typology of burial sites throughout Magnesia shows that inhumation burials are the preferred burial method. Inhumation in cist tombs is the most common form of burial, seen at 21 burial sites in Magnesia. Cists were constructed with 4 (usually schist) vertical slabs framing the sides. This type of burial is usually covered with 1 - 3 schist slabs, and the floor is usually covered with small stones, sand, or smaller slabs.[542] Cist tombs were especially popular during the SM-PG period, but there was a substantial shift to burials in Tholos tombs during the PG-G period. The spread of cist tombs probably attests to contacts with wider Greece and Euboea dating from the 11th century, as traces of Aegean pottery and handmade burnished ware have been found suggesting links through trade and or migration on a small scale.

Tholos tombs are also a common form of burial architecture, housing pit, cist, or pithos burials, with 15 structures in Magnesia (and a further 7 in Larissa and 3 in Karditsa). The main concentration of tholoi in Magnesia also follows the trend of

[541] Whitley 1991: 348-61.
[542] Georganas 2009; Panagiotopoulou 2018: 21.

housing inhumation burials, with evidence for only 1 tholos used to house a cremation burial. However, the burials in at least 5 tholos tombs have an undetermined burial status due to the quality of the published reports, and therefore, more research is needed. Tholoi's use in this region shows continuity in some form from the Mycenaean period when such structures were common. However, the form of tholos's tomb reflects the economic hardships of the time, with EIA structures being much smaller than those built in the bronze age.[543] During the EIA, alongside simple pit or cist burials, tholoi and burial enclosures were still used for multiple inhumations. Further, double inhumation burials were often found in the same burial necropolis but were not common in the mortuary landscape.[544]

Pit tombs are also a common form of inhumation burial, seen at 9 sites. Pit graves are pits dug in the ground, covered with stone or schist slabs.[545] Out of the 46 burial sites in Magnesia, only 8 sites show a preference for cremation burials, and out of these sites, there is a mix of inhumation and cremation burials in five sites, showing that cremation is a minority rite overall. However, given the number of cremation burials found at Ag. Georgios at Theotokou and the Tumuli at Halos they cannot be classified as a statistical anomaly. From dating the 5 cremation sites, the practice most likely gradually spread in the LPG to the Geometric period.[546]

In recent studies by Panagiotopoulou, mortuary habits for the region were examined, along with dietary practices and population movements.[547] The result of this study was that whilst there was a diversity in burial practices, as already examined, there was also a limited variation in dietary habits of the entire region, reflecting the

[543] Desborough 1972: 267-77; Georganas 2009.
[544] Lemos 2002: 166, 189; Georganas 2008.
[545] Panagiotopoulou 2018: 21.
[546] Morris 1987: 76-85; Lemos 2002: 186-7, 211; Coldstream 2003: 43, 87; Snodgrass 2008: 673; Lemos & Mitchell 1997; Deger-Jalkotzy 2008: 398- 400; Georganas 2009; Lagia et al. 2013; Panagiotopoulou 2018: 20.
[547] Panagiotopoulou 2018, 2020.

arrival of 'newcomers' into the region. The provenance of this incursion has not been identified but is evidence from dietary habits to support the arrival of newcomers into the region during the PG period.[548] As Thessaly is on the traditional periphery of the Mycenaean world, the suggestion is that newcomers are not from central or southern Greece. Given the regressive character of the EIA, population shift is usually observed through a change in material culture and changes in the mortuary landscape.[549] However, although there was variation in burial practices for this period, there was no surmountable change in material culture, although it is impossible not to rule out that change came about through more complex processes such as dealing with contacts from overseas through maintained contacts and the process of trade, and also through internal social change.[550]

There was likely a duality of identity, with newcomers trying to adopt traditional Mycenaeans practices (but in a reduced form), whilst locals complied with a sweeping trend across Greece and were buried in much simpler burial forms.[551] Compared to the LBA, burial practices in the Mycenaean period were quite elaborate, with a significant degree of differentiation. The Mycenaeans were buried according to their social status. Elite families used tholos tombs, while chamber tombs, introduced in the same period, were probably used by a wider society.[552] Funerary practices of the EIA period appear very diverse; some Mycenaean practices had either survived or were still imitated, though they were not as elaborate and rich. At the same time, alternative forms such as cist and pit graves were practised.[553] This increased diversity may

[548] Rückl 2014.
[549] Bouzek 2002; Rückl 2014; Panagiotopoulou 2018:17.
[550] Middleton 2010: 288-289, 370.
[551] Panagiotopoulou 2018.
[552] Panagiotopoulou 2020; Mee 2011.
[553] Dickinson 2006: 174-195.

indicate significant changes in the social structure of the new communities or different attitudes to tradition. Whilst change may have come about due to the regressive climate of the period, burials during this period do not always reflect social stratification. Morris argues that mortuary practices do not reflect social organisation, unlike Lemos, who looks at prestige goods such as weapons as evidence to indicate elite status as members of a warrior caste.[554] Conventionally, elite burials can be determined through the presence of high-status finds such as jewellery weapons or through elaborate funerary architecture. The tholoi represent elite burials with high-status goods, sometimes in situ. However, burial type is not always indicative of status. Whilst the tholoi at Chloe did have high-status finds of weapons and ornaments, weapons graves have also been located in simple cist graves, showing that there is no typology or trend when it comes to elite burials and that the context of each burial expresses the status of the occupant rather than reflecting it.[555] This period's burial finds consist mainly of ceramic wares, metal objects (bronze and iron) and weapons. Ceramic designs for this period have a narrower construction and consist of much simpler forms, with most vessels linked to dining or drinking (especially in the PG period), such as oenochoai and skyphoi.[556] The pottery typology and vessel decoration indicate trade connections or the imitation of foreign styles.[557] The use of iron dominated metal production with ornaments, such as fibulae, pins, hair spirals, and earrings, as well as tools like spindle whorls and knives, and weapons, including daggers, arrowheads, spearheads, and swords, made out of iron. However, the use of bronze did not disappear, as bronze finds were sporadically discovered in the region. Prestige metals such as gold and silver were also intermittently found and

[554] Lemos 2002: 188-189.
[555] Whitley 2002: 227.
[556] Lemos 2002: 27-99.
[557] Papadopoulos 2015.

mainly used to manufacture high-status jewellery.[558] Along with these are finds of faience objects, glass objects and stone objects.[559] Burials in this region consisted of either intramural or extramural graves. Some burial *necropoleis* were located near existing Mycenaean burial grounds, with some of these LBA cemeteries remaining in use during this period (for Magnesia, these sites are Kapakli and Pteleos).[560] Burials were usually associated with small residential units. However, as most evidence for this period comes from rescue excavations, the evidence for most of these settlements has still not been located. Burial in clusters near settlements or groups in tholoi may indicate family groupings.

[558] Dickinson 2006: 114-115, 144-150, 155-171; Papadopoulos 2015: 181-184, 188-190; Panagiotopoulou 2018:20.
[559] Arachoviti 1994.
[560] Lemos 2002: 195-197.

CHAPTER 6 - PHTHIOTIS, EAST LOCRIS AND PHOKIS

This chapter looks at three regions that geographically border each and make up the periphery of central Greece. Whilst the geography of these regions is quite distinct, they are interconnected through established travel routes and trade networks

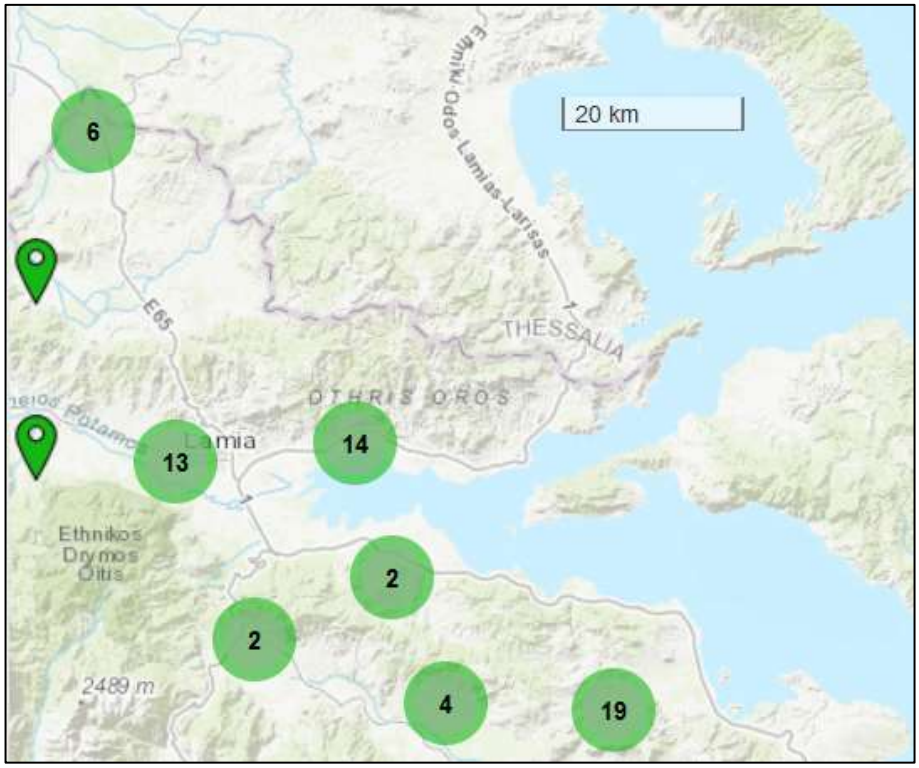


Figure 67: Map of sites in Phthiotis including East Locris[561]

that date back to the Mycenaean period. Phthiotis is a modern region of southern Thessaly but, in antiquity, was an area that, although a *perioikoi* of Thessaly, was also at times in its history was considered as an ally to areas such as Boeotia, or Aetolia or was a member of the Delphic *amphikfyonia.*[562] The geography of Phthiotis (Fig. 67) is centred on the middle and lower valleys of the river Enipeus and was bounded to the north by the Revenia hills separating the two plains of Thessaly; to the south the Othrys foothills, and to the east by the hills that dominate the plain of Halmyrus, the

[561] Adapted from Mazarakis 2017a.
[562] Aeschin 2,116; Kramolisch 2006.

eastern part of Achaea, from the Revenia to the Othrys range. The border with Hestiaeotis ran through the Karditsa plain to the west.[563]

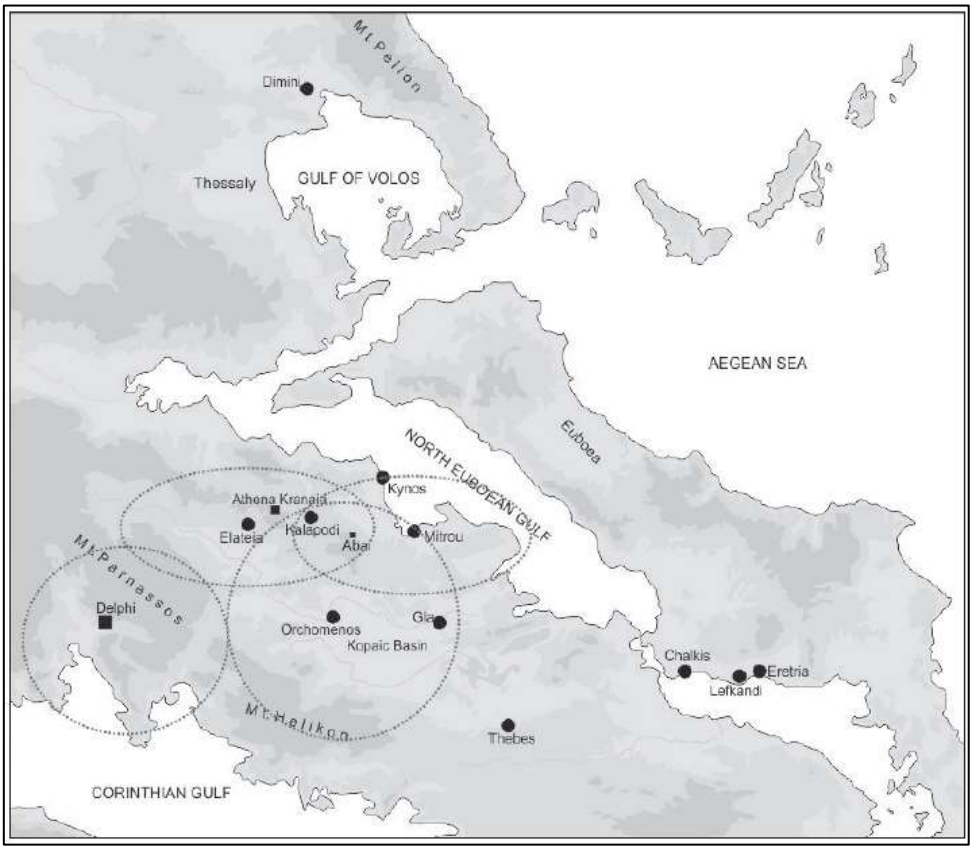


Figure 68: Religious and ethnic zones in Phokis and East Locris[564]

South of Phthiotis is Phokis, a mountainous region bordered by Doris, *East Locris,* and to the west by Locris *Ozolis*, lying on the Gulf of Corinth (Fig. 68).[565] Phokis has historically played an essential part in the study region's socio-political dynamics, having close links to Boeotia, neighbouring East Locris, and beyond (given the status held by Delphi as an already important inter-regional sanctuary in the EIA).[566] A significant amount of pendant semi-circle skyphoi has been found along the Gulf of Corinth and Patras, especially at Delphi, showing a concentration of style highlighting viable trade routes in this area. A study by Kearsley highlights that local production

[563] Helly 2016.
[564] McInerney 2011: 106.
[565] Daverio-Rocchi 2006.
[566] McInerney 1999.

was heavily influenced by Euboea or perhaps Chalcidice (as has been suggested by Morgan).[567] Also of great significance during this period is Kalapodi, which was an important inter-regional sanctuary, occupying a confluence of east-west routes between Phthiotis, East Locris and Phokis (with access to the Euboean, Malian, and Gulfs beyond), as well as north-south routes between Malis and Boeotia.[568] The bays of Itea in Phokis also gives an outlet to the Corinthian Gulf, opening up to the west and the Kephisos valley, which provided a natural extension north from Boeotia. Exarchos (ancient Hyampolis) is situated in a narrow valley connecting Kalapodi with Orchomenos, providing yet another connection point between the territories.[569]

East Locris is located on the Euboean Gulf and is bordered to the southeast by Boeotia, to the west by Phokis and to the north by the Spercheios Valley South.[570] The most direct way from East Locris to the Malian Gulf is to follow the coastline edge of Mount Knemis up the coast, passing through Thermopylae and onto the Malian Gulf's coastal plain. A new multidisciplinary study of Locris' history and topography underlines the micro-region's unique blend of mountains and sea and its distinct relationships with the surrounding landscapes.[571] Work in the region that began in the late twentieth century at ancient Halai (Modern Theologos) sparked an archaeological focus on the region (especially at Mitrou), although Ancient Halai was founded in the late 7th century based on pottery found in the NW part of the Acropolis, where the sanctuary was located, and as such is not relevant to this chapter.[572] The Greek Archaeological Service, particularly under the guidance of Dakoronia, carried out the

[567] Morgan 1990: 167, n.45.
[568] Felsch 1996, 2007; Niemeier 2016.
[569] Knodell 2021: 47-48.
[570] Daverio-Rocchi *et al.* 2006.
[571] Knodell 2021: 49-50, 157-8.
[572] Coleman 1992; Kramer-Hajos and O'Neill 2008.

vast majority of the archaeological work in the region in the form of systematic rescue excavations.

This division of regions is made for several reasons. The first is that much scholarship has been conducted on burials at East Locris (particularly by Dakoronia and Livieratou). Moreover, with the close proximity of these regions, as well as the lack of excavation data from Phokis, it makes sense to amalgamate the data for this region. The second reason is that East Locris is geographically located on the main road connecting Greece's north and south and is vital for connectivity both by land and by water. This location somewhat dictates (both in ancient and modern times) the fate of the extended regions inhabitants. Given that neighbouring Phokis is located on the opposite Corinthian Gulf but also has a significant land presence with the northernmost area bordering Phthiotis near the Euboean Gulf, it is possible that by separating the data, likely cultural trends influenced by geographical circumstances and wider interconnected patterns may still be explored.

6.1 Phthiotis

6.1.1 Neo Monastiri and Sofiada

On the border between Phthiotis and modern Thessaly lies the Sofiada and Neo Monastiri sites. At **Neo Monastiri**, four burial *necropoleis* have been discovered. At the first site on **Larisis Street**, buried in the area's natural rock, 3 EG vessels of the 'bucchero' type (thelastron, jug, and cup) were discovered. They might be linked to a tomb, but more information is needed.[573] Moving on to the site at **Ekklision Street**, a PG tholos tomb was unearthed with two burials found. While the upper structure of the

[573] Frousou 2006.

tholos had fallen, the lower section of the tholos and its stone-paved floor had survived.[574] Found at **Metsovou Street (Karagiannis' plot)**, 1 cist tomb was found dating to the LG/SubG period as well as an LG/EA period tholos tomb has been found outside the village. However, no systematic excavation is mentioned, and nothing is listed in the ephorate reports. Its exact location, therefore, has not been recorded.[575]

At Sophiada, at **Paliochori (in the plot of N. Papathanasiou)**, during building works, SPG graves were exposed and damaged. The field owner gathered the grave offerings and gave them to the Greek Archaeological Service. Further items were discovered during a formal rescue excavation, but no more graves were discovered at the site.[576] Also, at the site of **Magoula Paliochori (N. Papathanasiou's plot)**, 2 SPG-Geometric cist burials have been discovered on the East side of the site, with a low mound located about 2 kilometres from Neo Monastiri on the road linking Neo Monastiri and Domokos. According to the excavator, this site was formerly used as a dwelling and afterwards as a burial site. However, no architectural remnants have been discovered, and it is unclear if this was a formal cemetery or an intramural burial.[577]

6.1.2 Lamia

At Lamia, nine burial sites have been identified. Three PG chamber tombs and one PG cist tomb housing four burials were discovered at the site during construction on the provincial road from Lamia-Stavros.[578] At **Tanagras Street (Primary School)**, four burials have been found, but no details have been published, and no osteological

[574] Dakoronia, F. 1992b; Frousou 2006.
[575] Papadopoulou 2017al.
[576] Dakoronia 1992a & 1993a.
[577] Karouzou 2017z.
[578] Papakonstantinou 2001-2004.

remains were discovered in the burials. The size of the burials and the discovery of a SPG skyphos in one of them support their dating to this period. At **New Municipality Road (South of Plataion Street)**, 12 graves were discovered during building works, two of which dated to the LPG period.[579] Additionally 10 burials were discovered at the site of **Tsiavakis' plot**, seven of which were SPG-LG. While building activity was claimed to have disturbed the tombs, no particular information on which burials were disrupted is available, except for the pithos burial (in grave VI). The clay container appears to be dated to the SPGI-II, but the bronze jewellery dates to the mid-to-late 8th century, causing problems with the accurate dating of the burial group. Certain features of pottery manufacturing appear to have been carried over from the SPG to the LG era, allowing burials that do not possess bronze jewellery to be dated during this time.[580] At **39 Galaneika Street**, only 2 cists were discovered, one of which included 2 graves. The tomb was too damaged to determine whether the two burials were contemporaneous or dated later. The graves of this early phase of the cemetery were disturbed by later Byzantine burials in the area and by modern construction work. No further information is provided on which burials were disturbed, but it is generally indicated that the excavator associates the absence of offerings from the early graves with later disturbances. PG walls, interpreted as funerary peribolos walls, were uncovered in the area of the PG burials, but no information is given on their association with specific burials.[581]

Near Stavros Lamias, at the site of **Magoula Potistikon**, a tiny cluster of 6 inhumation burials in pit and cist tombs was discovered dating to the LPG/SPG period. Pottery, iron pins, swords, knives, copper rings, and gold earrings were found in the

[579] Dakoronia 1993b.
[580] Papakonstantinou 1995.
[581] Stamoudi 1994: 200-2003.

tombs.[582] Also, at Stavros at **Bikiorema**, on the ravine's slopes, a chamber tomb cemetery was unearthed, with the area housing eleven chamber tombs. Dating from the LHIIIA through to the Archaic periods, the graves were utilised for numerous burials (with at least 6 being discovered in situ). The tombs were cut into the native porous rock, and the architecture of the chamber tombs had vaulted ceilings. All of the tombs were disturbed by plundering and later reopening for burials from the PG and later, except for Tombs IV and V, which were found undisturbed. Not all tombs were used for the same amount of time, but no specific information has been provided, and their date can only be determined by the reported finds from their interior.[583] Close to this site, at **Tympanos (Kleitsakis' plot)**, 2 chamber tombs were unearthed. The chambers were egg-shaped, and the tomb entrances were on the south side. Three ellipsoid shaft tombs were cut into the rock and covered with rough-shaped stone slabs. The tombs were disturbed, and the conclusions regarding their type and shape are uncertain.[584]

At Komptoades, on the site of **Profitis Ilias Hill**, part of a chamber tomb cemetery used during the LHIIB to the LHIIIC and from the PG to the Hellenistic period was discovered. In total 8 graves were discovered on the North and East sides of the hill, some of which were plundered. The Mycenaean chamber tombs were re-used, and new tombs were built during the PG era. EIA evidence is derived from 2 graves on the site.[585]

[582] Papadopoulou & Damigos 2017a.
[583] Dakoronia 1978 & 1991.
[584] Papakonstantinou 1992, Stamoudi 1996.
[585] Karantzali 2009.

6.1.3 Stylida

In and around Stylida, 14 burial sites have been uncovered at **Tsikrika, Ag. Kirikas (K. Palamas Street)**, a Geometric tumulus, was discovered near a Hellenistic fortress at the city's West Gate during a rescue excavation 150 metres from the coast. Only a portion of the tumulus has been excavated.[586] In total 7 cist graves were discovered in a burial group at the site of **Kosti Palama Street (Tertillis' plot)**. They are dated to the Geometric period, but no more chronological information about them exists. At the plot's northern edge, another cist tomb, most likely belonging to the same burial group, was also discovered but could not be excavated. Pithos and vase sherds were also discovered at the site, but no information about their date is available.[587] At **Southwest Stylida (area West of Ag. Aikaterini fortification wall)**, a Geometric cemetery had a burial tumulus with burials and a pit construction with a **horse burial** and a cist burials that had been demolished. The bulk of the burials were found with ceramics, clothing, and jewellery.[588] At **Zisi Divrioti Street (Dim. Athanasiou plot),** several Byzantine and two PG burials were discovered. Rich PG pottery might point to a PG burial group destroyed by subsequent graves.[589] **At the site of Kyprou & Ag. Dimitriou Street (Skondra & Papadopoulou plots)**, under the finds of Roman dwellings, a Geometric cemetery was discovered. The Skondras plot contains the majority of the cemetery. Only 1 Geometric tomb was discovered in the neighbouring A. Papadopoulou plot, while the others originate from the Classical era and are located in the Classical cemetery. The practice of numerous burials in cists is an intriguing characteristic of this cemetery.[590] At **the plot of B. Karanika**, 2 single burial cist

[586] Alexandridou 2017a.
[587] Papadopoulou 2017q.
[588] Papadopoulou 2017r.
[589] Pantos 1981.
[590] Papadopoulou 2017s.

graves were discovered. One of them may be safely dated within the PG era. The other cist is also from the PG era.[591] Just outside Stylida, burials were discovered at **Achinos (just off Motorway 1)**, and 2 geometric burial groups were discovered 2 kilometres apart, northeast and northwest of Achinos (N1 & N2, respectively). The northeast group contained 11 LG cist and pit graves with single adult inhumations. Additionally 2 stone periboloi surrounded the graves. With the noteworthy exception of burial TK1, most grave goods consisted of a single ceramic vessel (type unreported). Information regarding the nearby northwest cluster is limited.[592]

6.1.4 Paliochori & Elateia

At **Paliochori** at the site of **Mirmiris' field**, seven PG graves were discovered during a rescue excavation. Bronze objects, usually found in PG graves, were found in mixed layers around and above the tombs, suggesting a larger number of graves existed for this period.[593] At **Paliochori** at the site of **Paliovrisi**, seven burials were discovered. Of these, 2 graves were found at a distance of circa 0.5 kilometres from 5 enchytrismos graves, thus representing two different burial groups.[594] At **Elateia**, nine Geometric graves were discovered in **Panagitsa** (Phakiris' plot); again, there is no more information about the graves.[595] At Panagitsa, at the plot of G. Tsaprouni & Zisi's field, a section of a cemetery from the Middle Geometric and Classical periods was discovered. There is no additional information provided. The graves unearthed in S. Phakiris' plots are from the same cemetery.[596]

[591] Papakonstantinou 1994.
[592] Papadopoulou 2017t.
[593] Papadopoulou 2017u citing Dimaki 2001-2004.
[594] Papadopoulou 2017v citing Dakoronia 1995.
[595] Papadopoulou 2017w.
[596] Papadopoulou 2017x.

At the site of **Alonaki**, an extensive chamber tomb cemetery was in use from the beginning of the 14th to the end of the 9th century. The excavation is extensive, but the research and publication of the excavation have not yet been completed.[597] For this sub-region, SM and PG pottery, in contrast to the advanced nature of the metal finds, remained conservative. Vessels from these eras clung tenaciously to stylistic elements from the local late Mycenaean tradition. New tombs were cut into the rock of Alonaki Hill during the SM, PG, and SPG (EGP) periods, which attests to a certain cultural conservatism. They still adhere to the concept of rock-chamber tombs, even if their shape no longer follows the canonical Mycenaean tomb layouts. Large amphorae with a height of 45 centimetres and at least 8 decorated with compass-drawn concentric circles were novel pottery features of the PG era. Vessels of the same type have been discovered at Agnadi and Kalapodi and in Thessaly and Macedonia, Lefkandi, Lemnos, and Troy. Imported vessels from Thessaly and Lefkandi also attest to contacts with the other areas of PG koine.[598]

Elateia's period of markedly increased activity was limited to the transition from the Bronze Age to early PG times. After that, the number of tombs decreased, and by the end of the 10th century, the majority of tombs had been abandoned. Pottery discovered in the few tombs that remained in use in the 9th century first followed Thessaly's SPG style. Middle Geometric vessels have a connection to Boeotian pottery. Elateia's last tombs were abandoned at the end of the 9th century.[599] Elateia's geometric pottery developed with Attica's and Corinthia's ceramic trends. The shapes used as burial presents also differed from those from prior times. Open shapes were nearly non-existent in the burial vessels buried in the chambers between the 12th and

[597] Papadopoulou 2017y.
[598] Livieratou 2006: 109; Sougioultzi 2019: 25.
[599] Manning et al. 2004: 188.

10th centuries. The ceramic shards recovered from the dromos fill primarily open shapes like kraters, kylikes, skyphoi, and cups. These vessels were undoubtedly used for rituals outside the burial chambers, like farewell toasts and mortuary banquets. The 7 burials from the 9th century paint an entirely different picture: 9 out of the 17 burial vessels were skyphoi and cups.[600]

6.2 Other Anomalous Burials in Phthiotis

A collection of 12 graves in cists and pithoi was discovered at Modi at the site of **Ag. Athanasios**. The burials were discovered during the transition period between the LPG and the SPG periods. Only 1 grave was disturbed. However, it is conceivable that others to the west of the funerary complex were destroyed during road building or in antiquity.[601] A chamber tomb cemetery has been discovered and partially excavated southwest of **Agnanti at the site of Kritharia (I. Sousonis' plot)**. The cemetery was not plundered and was in use from LHIIIA to PG period. There were around 5 tombs discovered with consecutive interments. Only 1 tomb produced ten complete skulls, whilst others yielded well-preserved bones and skulls. In addition to this, there were finds of alabastra, pyxides, an amphora (dating to the LHIIIA period), along with jugs and small kraters (LH IIIB-C), a PG amphora, a fibula, and bronze pins.[602] At Kalapodi on the plot of **N. Floros**, only 1 small cist tomb was uncovered. The plot holder initially found an LPG/SPG skyphos (decorated with pendent semicircles), and after informing the ephorate, excavation further revealed a PG amphoriskos.[603] At **Proskynas** on the site of **Chiliadi**, the cemetery was discovered at the western foot of Chiliadi Hill, where

[600] Deger-Jalkotzy, 2018: 68.
[601] Dakoronia 1992 & 1993.
[602] Spyropoulos 1970a: 235-237.
[603] Livieratou 2007: 134 n.327.

the remains of an ancient city, possibly ancient Korseia, lie. In total 110 graves dating from the second half of the 8th century to the beginning of the 1st century BCE were excavated, indicating the continuous use of the cemetery from LG to the Early Roman period. Although there is no information on the number of LG and EA burials, there is a description of the types of graves and burial practices from the period. In the LG period, a rectangular pit covered with stone slabs predominates. The orientation of the graves is west to east. The burials were simple, the dead lying in a contracted position at the bottom of the pit, and with a few exceptions, they were oriented to the west.[604]

At **Exarchos** at the site of **Vrysi-Sykia**, 2 Mycenaean chamber tombs were discovered (Fig. 69), disturbed in antiquity, and looted in more modern times.[605] Despite this they still contained several offerings, one conatined LHIIIC sherds and bronze and gold jewellery, whilst the other tomb also contained LHIIIC sherds, 2 EPG ceramic vessels (no indication of type) and a glass bead found. There were also several small finds in a pit in the dromos, including a few coarse-ware sherds and 5 bronze rings (one with a bronze spiral).[606] This indicates that the site was used extensive with at least one in use during the EPG period.[607] Also, at **Exarchos** at the site of **Smixe**, 6 chamber tombs, most of which were looted, were found. The contents of tombs dated to the LBA/EIA (LHIIIC-SM period). The only tomb, which was not looted, contained 18 burials in four successive layers. The first layer of graves contained four LPG burials and the anomalous find of a proto-Corinthian lekythos.[608]

[604] Papadopoulou 2017z.
[605] Livieratou 2007: 132.
[606] Ibid., 133, n. 323.
[607] Papadopoulou 2017aa.
[608] Livieratou 2007: 132-3, n. 321, 23.



Figure 69: Tomb at Vrysi-Sykia[609]

The second and third layers contained 4 burials, each in a contracted position without offerings. The last layer contained burials dated to the LHIIIC period. Continuous use is therefore attested from the LHIIIC period to the LPG Period. A Proto-Corinthian lekythos was also found in the upper layer, suggesting some use in the EA period.[610] The tombs discovered here were of the same type and size as Elateia's small, cave-like chamber tombs. It is unclear if this was the case for all the tombs at this location.[611] There are also several burial plots that, whilst they should be included in this gazetteer, nevertheless have little information attributed to them. I have therefore included them in the form of a *Table* (see *Table 8*) in the appendices.

6.2 East Locris

There are several sites in Atalante that house EIA burials. In Atalante Bay at the site of **Mitrou**, 41 burials dating to the PG period (although only 7 adults and 15

[609] Ibid., Fig. 75.
[610] Papadopoulou 2017ab.
[611] Dimaki 2003: 324, n.29 cited in Livieratou 2007: 132.

children have so far been identified). Most of these post-palatial burials are cist tombs built amid the remains of abandoned older buildings. Excavations have unearthed 40 tombs and burials ranging from the LHIIIC to the LPG phase. Almost all burials are cist burials; the majority belonged to children, with several containing adults (e.g., cists



Figure 70: Mitrou, burial 33[612]

6, 22, 28, 33 – Fig. 70).[613] Out of all the graves, the LPG graves contain more clay vessels and jewellery than earlier LBA graves. One child's cist grave (No. 36) even includes a necklace with faience beads similar to those found at Lefkandi.[614] This settlement was abandoned in the LPG period. Continuing the trend of intramural child graves, this phenomenon is also observed at **Kynos (Pyrgos),** where several intra-mural child burials have been uncovered dating to the LHIIIC period. Among this cluster is 1 SM/PG child tomb uncovered, although only sketchy information is available.[615] Like Mitrou, this site was also abandoned at the same time. At Atalante,

[612] Van de Moortel *et* al. 2011: 302.
[613] Van de Moortel & Zahou 2011: 290.
[614] Kourou 2012: 215-227.
[615] Papadopoulou 2017ac.

there are 11 burial plots with graves relating to the EIA. Whilst Mitrou and Kynos were abandoned, Atalante emerge as a prominent centre at the same time.[616]

In Atalante, at the site of **Bodovatsa** (**N. Karagiorgos' plot**), an LPG burial group was uncovered containing ten burials, of which 7 were cist burials, one was a pithos burial, and the other 2 graves were the unusual burial of 2 individuals in a sarcophagus (made of clay). These burials are the best documented for the region, with records containing a detailed inventory of grave goods. Following this one of the reasons for this is the exception of individuals in clay sarcophagi (Grave II and III). These burials were side by side in the centre of the burial group. A broken wall, possibly from a funeral peribolos, was also unearthed amid the tombs. However, there is no implicit link to specific burials at this site. A 54-year-old male was buried in Grave II. The sarcophagus was a unique oval form, hypothesised to represent an overlarge pithos vessel with the person buried in a contracted position.[617] Discovered in the burial were an iron sword, iron dagger, and a shield with a bronze shield-boss. A bronze bowl, 4 oenochoai, a skyphos, a cup, and a flask were also discovered in the same tomb Five. In addition to this 5 bronze rings and a large and hefty iron artifact were discovered with a spherical head near his arm; it is unlikely to be a dress pin but may be regarded as a tool or a sceptre.[618] A large skyphos was stationed outside the grave, which might suggest that a ritual ceremony took place after burial, or it could be a grave marker similar to what is seen at the Kerameikos cemetery in Athens. Given the 'heroised' burial, the occupant (or his family) wished him to be identified as a warrior. This portrayal may identify him as a leader or is an ideological construct. It may represent what the family perceive as their social status in the local community

[616] Livieratou 2019: 822.
[617] Dakoronia 2006: 484.
[618] Kourou 1994: 203-27.

at this time, as the burial denotes the man as wealthy, a warrior, and a member of the elite. Another sarcophagus, burial III (Fig. 71), discovered nearby at the same site,



Figure 71: Limestone sarcophagus (Karagiorgos plot, Grave II)[619]

had the skeleton of a 50-year-old female. She was likewise buried in a sarcophagus tomb constructed of limestone, rectangular with rounded sides, in a contracted posture with her head to the west. As burial goods, 2 oenochoai, 2 skyphoi, a pyxis, a bronze bowl, and an iron sickle were included.[620] The woman wore 2 iron pins with bronze heads on her shoulders, nine bronze rings comparable to the occupant of Grave II,

[619] Dakoronia 2006: 500.
[620] Andronikos 1969: 266–8, Fig. 104.

and a pair of golden earrings. A rock crystal bead and a steatite spindle were found and were perhaps heirlooms. These might have been used as amulets. The number and quality of the burial present, as well as the style of the grave – a sarcophagus, which was more expensive than a standard cist tomb – indicate that the buried woman, maybe the wife or a close relative of the warrior buried nearby and was at least of high social rank.[621]

Other EIA burial groups were also found in the Bodovatsa region of Atalante (**A. Gkouras' plot**).[622] At this plot, a portion of a PG cemetery with single graves was discovered containing 33 burials.[623] Furthermore, 17 burials were in cist tombs, 14 were enchytrismoi, and at least 2 pit tombs comprised the burial group. Adults and children were buried in cist tombs or pithoi indifferently. Wealthy burials have been found in both cist tombs and pithoi burials and were elaborately furnished, but those thought to belong to elites were buried in either cist tombs or sarcophagi. The dead were interred in a firmly constricted position in all cist graves, which were modest in size. The pithoi burials were also buried in the same manner. The burials were mainly east-west oriented, and the dead were buried with their heads to the west. Cist tombs and pithos graves cannot be chronologically distinguished as graves were used simultaneously at almost the same stratigraphic level, showing a degree of standardisation. A cist tomb was occasionally discovered higher than, or close above, an enchytrismos burial, and vice versa. This means that both burial techniques were utilised at the same time.[624] The most prominent grave in this burial site was a cist tomb of an adult

[621] Dakoronia 2006: 484.
[622] Papadopoulou 2017ad.
[623] Dakoronia 1987: 226–8.
[624] Dakoronia 2006: 494.

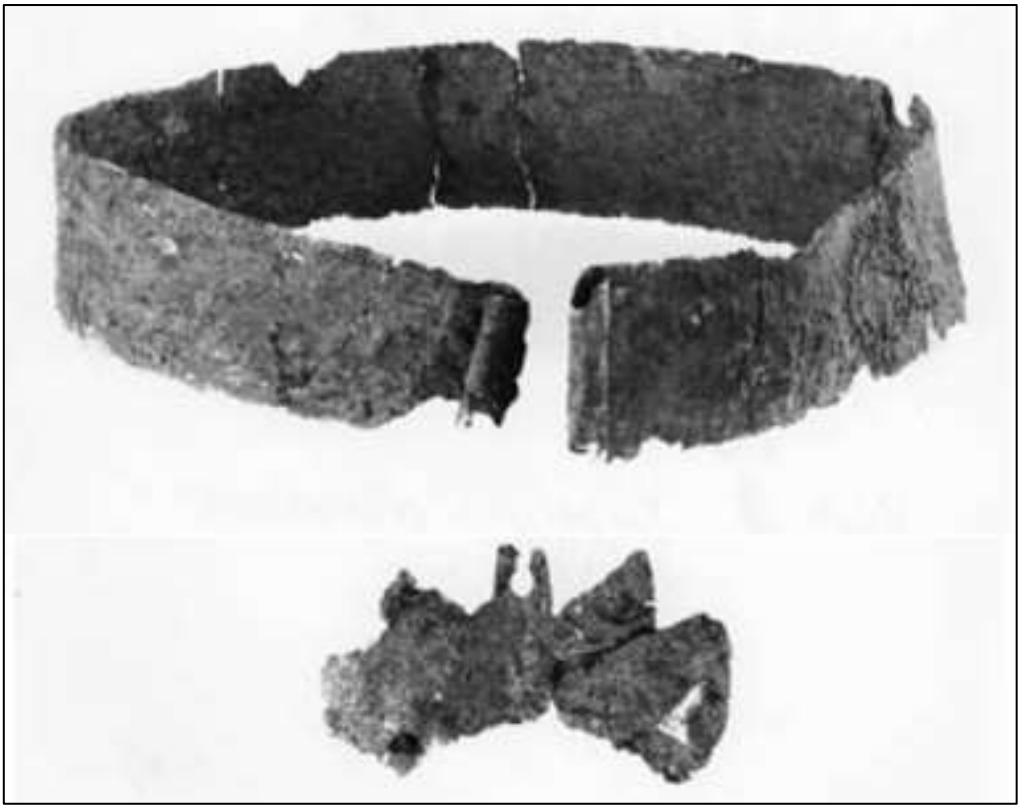


Figure 72: Diadem from Gkouras' plot[625]

(designated grave XXIII). This grave contained a skeleton (sex undetermined) in a contracted position. Whilst it is not possible to identify gender from the quality of the osteological remains found, the quantity and type of burial gifts are suggestive. Found were a jug, a pyxis, a cup, a skyphos, a little oenochoe, a miniature cup, and an iron knife were discovered in the grave. As well as these 2 bronze bracelets, 3 bronze rings, 1 bronze and 4 golden spirals, a faience bead necklace, a bronze bead necklace, a glass bead, and a bronze pendant in the shape of a club adorned the body (such pendants have been discovered in shrines, particularly in Thessaly). Also 1 bronze spectacle fibula and 2 smaller bronze fibulae were discovered on the chest and shoulders, as well as a pair of iron pins with bronze beads and a simplistic iron pin with a bulbous head.[626] This body was accompanied by a remarkable and symbolic

[625] Ibid., 502, Fig. 26.12.
[626] Dakoronia 2006: 497-500; Kilian-Dirlmeier 1979: 57–9, no. 348–53 and pl. 21.

object: a one-of-a-kind bronze diadem with a double axe pattern (Fig. 72). The diadem was not the only oddity in the burial. An unusual artifact was discovered along the right arm: 'a bronze cylindrical stab' [*sic*] topped by a massive cast bronze ring.[627] Because there are no holes in the object, it cannot be regarded as a musical instrument (like an aulos). The only other possibility is that this was also a sceptre made of an organic material (wood) in a bronze sheath.[628] Grave XXIII and Graves II & III at the Karagiorgos plot are the only three elite graves centred around Bodovatsa and most likely belonged to the same cemetery. Found in several other graves were Iron objects, this was placed in both cists and pithoi burials, somewhat indicating that this type of grave good was not an indication of social rank. Obsidian blades were also found in 2 graves, which certainly can qualify as an unusual gift, most likely an heirloom and not an indication of elevated status. However, what is interesting to note is that the remains of cereal grains were detected in 5 graves during the excavation, indicating either a food-based ceremony or ritual or the depositing of organic products as grave offerings.[629]

In total 8 cist graves were discovered at the site of **25 Dalianoudi Street – 37 Stratigou Doumpioti – Stratigou Doumpioti & Dalianoudi Street**. Of these burials there was 1 ruined grave (at 25 Dalianoudi Street), which did not have a grave number, while the remaining 7 burials were discovered at 37 Stratigou Doumpioti Street, these comprised single graves. The location is in the southwest corner of the city of Atalante. Close to this site at Stratigou Doumpioti and Aristotelous Street (on the plot of Pagkratis), two mostly damaged LG cist burials were unearthed.[630] Also, a PG cist

[627] Dakoronia 2006: 498.
[628] Kourou 1994: note 13.
[629] Papadopoulou 2017ad; Dakoronia, 2006: 494-502.
[630] Papadopoulou 2017ae.

grave with a solitary interment was discovered at Atalante on the **Peripheral Road (Avgeris' plot)** under Roman architectural remnants.

At the site of **Kokkola & Ethnikis Antistaseos Street**, a cist burial was discovered during construction activities. The finding of a PG oenochoe inside seems to date the burial, although, with the disturbed stratigraphy, doubts have been raised by the excavator to its chronology.[631] At **25 Martiou Street**, 3 PG burial groupings were discovered. The first burial group was discovered at 52, 25th Martiou Street on the plot of Th. Krokos' consisted of 5 cists with single burials, except for Grave XX. Additionally 2 further burials, a cist and a pithos burial, are recorded from the vicinity of the plot. They are not linked to the first group and may have a different date (although no date is given in reports). Also, 2 further burials are recorded from the vicinity of Th. Krokos plot, a cist, and a pithos burial. However, the excavator states that they are not linked with the burial group of the 5 cists in the report, which may imply a different chronological era. In any event, no secure information is supplied. The second PG burial group was found at 140, 25th Martiou Street and consisted of two cist tombs with single burials. The third PG burial group was found at 142, 25th Martiou Street and had six cist tombs with single burials. At the site of **Vothanos**, 2 cist burials were also discovered. These may have been plundered during antiquity. They included single graves as well as coarse vessel fragments. A cup and other finds indicate that the site's chronology is linked to the 9th or 8th century (Geometric period).[632] An LG cemetery existed at the site of **Fournos** (on a hill SW of Anavra). There is no information about the deceased's age or gender. In total 22 cist burials have been found, and the objects found are mainly such as Thessalian-type fibulae,

[631] Papadopoulou 2017ah.
[632] Papadopoulou 2017ai.

bracelets, pins, and rings. The evidence suggests there may have been a Geometric settlement close to this site, possibly close to the contemporary village of Paliokastro (Anavra) or a settlement that has not been found.[633] Notable finds include a bronze seal with the handle resembling a human head, a bronze double axe and an ornament of three superimposed rings 'surmounted by a stylised pony'.[634]

At **Ag. Dimitrios**, a large cemetery from the PG-LG era, was discovered. Three groups of 50 graves were discovered, with strong evidence that the cemetery extends deeper into the region. Another burial group of 8 SPG-LG tombs belonging to the same cemetery was discovered 150 metres to the west in 2009. The first cluster (Sector A) comprises 30 tombs, including 25 cist and 5 pit burials. Except for 1 double inhumation burial, most tombs featured single inhumation graves. Also, 2 primary cremations in pits were also discovered. Finally, 4 pits have been excavated and identified as containing deposits connected with the nearby graves. The second cluster (Sector B) comprises 6 child cist graves with solitary inhumation burials. The third cluster (Sector C), positioned further apart from the others, consists of 5 cist tombs and 1 pit tomb with a single child inhumation. In addition, 4 graves containing two inhumations and 2 primary cremations were uncovered to the north and east of the third cluster. The cremations date the cemetery's first usage to the LPG era. A peribolos wall fragment located west of the first burial cluster and the remnants of a stone cairn, recovered in all 3 Sectors, may suggest the demarcation of the clusters. The corpses were laid in a contracted position, directed towards the east, in most of the tombs aligned west to east. Child burials were given 1-2 drinking containers, one-handled cups or skyphoi, and infrequently a necklace, 1-3 vessels, and bronze jewellery (fibulae, bracelets,

[633] Pascual 2013: 102.
[634] Catling 1987: 42.

rings). Adult funerals had more elaborate offerings, such as 1-2 vessels and, less commonly, 3-4 vessels, as well as metal pins. Both fragmented and complete ceramic vessels, including skyphoi, amphorae, and cups, were discovered outside the graves. The most recent burial group discovered comprised single inhumations in constricted positions, orientated East to West or Northeast to Southwest, and equipped with 1 - 3 containers and a few items of jewellery (unspecified) and weapons. Unfortunately, despite a detailed description of the cemetery's burial practices, information on each burial is limited.[635]

The preliminary studies of stable isotope analysis conducted at this cemetery show that the main dietary protein sources were 'terrestrial' plants and animal C_3 resources. This population's occasional usage of marine foodstuffs and C_4 plants cannot be completely ruled out, as this would be undetectable by isotopic analysis. The Ag. Dimitrios's sample is interesting archaeologically because it gives information on human health status and dietary reconstruction during this period, which is wholly lacking. The conclusion of this study shows that infant mortality was high, along with low stature estimations, anaemic and pathological lesions, and high tooth infection rates, all pointing to a stressed and malnourished population fed a protein-deficient C_3 plant diet. The study also shows no difference in diet or health between genders and comments that the results show a marked change from LBA samples and indicate an equivalency in investment regarding women's dietary allowances during the EIA. [636]

Tragana was a prosperous community with its own pottery and bronze industry and ties with other parts of central Greece and possibly the eastern Mediterranean.

[635] Papadopoulou 2017aj.
[636] Panagiotopoulou & Papathanasiou 2015:116.

During the MG/LG periods, a large cemetery was located here.[637] Inhumations occurred in enormous pithoi, cist tombs, and sarcophagi from around 850 to 750. Infants were buried in miniature vessels, adults were cremated, and their ashes interred in primarily handcrafted vessels throughout the LG period.[638] The Geometric cemetery was discovered during rescue excavations on Kallimbasis, Varelogiannis, and Kapetanakos plots. In total 36 burials were uncovered on Kallimbasis' land, 2 on Varelogiannis', and 12 on Kapetanakos'.[639] The cemetery was well-organised and divided into burial groups. The group comprised graves T-1, T-2, E-4, E-5, and E-6. Burial E-6 was divided from the others by 3 rectangular stone blocks, which served as either a separative construction or a group marker. Unfortunately, information about the latter excavated section of the cemetery is scarce.[640] Also, as per the burial categorisations for Phthiotis, for those burial plots that lack sufficient information for East Locris, I have listed them in *Table 9*.

6.3 Phokis

Phokis, unlike Phthiotis, does not contain reports with full details of the burial context. What follows is the available data. At **Kallion**, a burial group was largely destroyed at the site of **Georgios Iphantis' plot** during road building. Only 2 cists were discovered. The demolished tombs yielded two Geometric bronze eight-shaped fibulae. The burial group might be from the Geometric period.[641] At **Kallithea**, at the site of Karies Kallitheas, the tombs appear to have been cists carrying enchytrismoi in

[637] Onasoglou 1981.
[638] Livieratou 2019: 822.
[639] Onasoglou 1981 & 1983.
[640] Papadopoulou 2017ak.
[641] Petrakos 1972.

huge jars.[642] At **Galaxidi**, in the plot of Nik. Sphetsos' on the slope of the city's Southwest hill, an LG burial group was unearthed. More burials, the contents of which were transferred to the Greek Archaeological Service, were discovered and burned before the site's systematic investigation.[643] A disturbed chamber tomb was unearthed at **Sykia Desphinas** on the site of **Katafigi (X. Xiropoulou field)**. The tomb was utilised from the LHIIIA2 through the LHIIIC periods and re-used during the PG era. The found offerings are the only evidence of the tomb's PG usage.[644] At **Itea Gulf** on the site of **Moulki, Keramos**, a chamber tomb cemetery may be found at the base of Moulki Hill. The graves are said to resemble those at Delphi. Although the information is scarce, vessels recovered from their interiors belong to the LHIIIB-C and PG eras (LPG oenochoe). At **Amphissa** at the site of **Charmaina**, According to excavation records, the tomb contained gold and bronze jewellery donated to the Greek Archaeological Service.[645] At **Amphissa**, a cemetery with 21 graves was unearthed at the site of **Philotheou Episkopou & Athanasopoulou Street (P. Katsibra's plot)**. The excavation report describes a tomb from the Middle Geometric era and tombs from the Classical period. It is unknown if the cemetery was used continuously from the Middle Geometric through the Classical periods. Also, at **Amphissa** at the site of **Thoantos & Kordoni Street**, a large cemetery dating from the LG to the Roman era was discovered. Only 3 LG tombs have been thoroughly investigated. These tombs were found in the same location in 1959, but the excavation reports offer no description.

[642] Bommelje & Doom 1987, Raptopoulos 2001-2004.
[643] Andreiomenou 1974, Threpsiadis 1963 & 1972.
[644] Dassios 2005.
[645] Konstantinou 1963.

At **Logari**, a pit containing many graves was uncovered near Delphi's East necropolis. According to the excavation report, it was a translation of burials. The remains of 34 graves and a few offerings dating from the 8th century to the end of the 6th century were discovered. The era includes a bronze fibula, iron and ivory fibulae fragments, and 2 aryballoi. At **Delphi**, in the area of the Museum, 4 tholos-like vaulted chamber tombs were found cut into the natural rock, although the tomb did not have a *dromos*. In total 2 burials were found here, an adult inhumation dating to the EPG and the inhumation of a child dating to the LG, showing that the tomb was later re-used in this period. The PG finds include an LBA spearhead, which Desborough concludes was a high-status burial of a warrior, as well as several vessels found. The exact number varies, with Desborough stating 18 vessels, whilst Antonaccio states 17 vessels.[646] This confusion can be cleared up as Desborough provides photographic evidence of the finds, and it seems to be 17 fully intact vessels, as well as the remnants of a further vessel not found intact. Other finds include 11 wheel-made vessels, including oenochoe and amphoriskoi, 6 handmade hydria, jugs, cups and an askos.[647] The LG finds include an oinochoe, 2 fibulae with engraved catch plates, bronze finger rings and tubular beads.[648] Additionally, 3 other tombs similar to the rock-cut EPG tomb already mentioned were found just north, but the graves were discovered empty but probably belong to the same period.[649] Similarly, at Delphi, an LG secondary cremation has been discovered (comparable to those at nearby Medeon in Boeotia – although not much has been reported regarding its description, context, and grave goods). Snodgrass mentions a cremation in Delphi without further elaboration, and

[646] Desborough 1972: 203-205; Antonaccio 1995: 135 states 17 vessels.
[647] Antonaccio 1995: 135; Desborough 1972: 203ff, plates 47, 48.
[648] Lerat 1937:49-51, fig 2-6.
[649] Antonaccio 1995: 135.

Perdrizet mentions as background to a section examining pottery finds from Delphi, that an LG funerary amphora was found at *'Pylæa'* in Delphi.[650]

6.4 Burial Trends

This region continues the trend of dating burials ambiguously, with the majority of the tombs in the systematic excavation reports referring to PG, PG-G or Geometric period, with what is described being linked to a general overview with no attention (through lack of evidence may) to the established chronological sub-divisions within this overall period. Breaking the numbers down out of the 34 sites examined across this area, 29 burial plots fall into this category. The burial trends will be examined according to the chronological divide of PG-only sites, Geometric sites and sites that span the entire EIA as a whole, as well as a commentary on the burials within regional divisions, as this is the only manageable way to look at the trends given the chronological trends used by excavators.

For the period of the PG, inhumation in cist graves dominates, with 12 sites employing this burial method. These cist tombs are similar to what has been seen both in Euboea and Boeotia and seem to be a common feature of mortuary practice throughout the central region of Greece. The next common burial form seen in this period is inhumation burials in chamber tombs, with eight sites in use throughout Phthiotis and Phokis, although absent in East Locris. Most of the chamber tombs were in cemeteries dated from the LBA and continued in use during the post-palatial period. These smaller chamber tombs were described as vaulted and 'tholos-like'.[651] This may be regarded as a mere quirk of preference for this individual burial or a deliberate

[650] Snodgrass 2002: 160; Perdrizet 1908: 133 .
[651] Antonaccio 1995: 135.

link with the Mycenaean past employed by the deceased and their family to establish their authority through past connotations, but this is conjecture without further evidence. The re-use of Mycenaean chamber tombs is minimal for this period, with only one burial recorded during the PG period.

After this, the numbers are nominal regarding various other burial methods. There are 3 instances of pithoi burials, dating mainly to the transition from the PG to the Geometric period, and it is unclear from the reports if they contain the burials of children, like in Athens and Attica. Two sites have Tholos tombs around Neo Monastiri (ancient Proerna), although the Tholoi was not preserved and collapsed. There are also 2 burial sites with evidence of graves in a burial peribolos. One of these burials is adjacent to 2 elite burials in a clay sarcophagus, showing a deliberate attempt to exhibit a heightened social status beyond what is usually observed in other cemeteries. This region's burial contains limited grave goods, usually personal items or pottery offerings linked to funerary feasting practices. Moving on, 2 of the sites examined for the PG period also demonstrate the intramural burials of children. At Mitrou, this custom is prolific, with cist graves of children found in abandoned buildings in the settlement.[652] From examining the more abundant tombs, Elite status is conferred through the finds of precious metals and weaponry and the unusual assortment of ceramic grave goods. For the PG period, there is a lack of cremation. The re-use of tombs only occurred at Exarchos and Kompotades in Phthiotis and Sykia Desphinas in Phokis. The re-use of tombs is absent from the archaeological record in East Locris.

[652] Livieratou 2019: 822.

Moving on to the Geometric period, there is a continued trend of inhumation burials in **cist** graves being used as the dominant funerary rite, with thirteen sites reporting this type of burial specifically for the Geometric period. Similar to the PG period, the next common burial type is inhumation in pit burials, with this type of grave reported in at least 3 sites. Other minority rights include 3 sites with enchytrismoi burials. However, the excavation reports are vague and do not reveal if this method was used for the burial of children or adults. Other anomalous burial rights seen are a peribolos burial and the use of a Tumulus housing multiple independent/single burials during this period. Evidence of cremation is found during this period, with primary cremation found at only 1 site, whilst evidence of secondary cremation is also found in 2 sites. Primary cremation has been found in East Locris at Ag. Dimitrios with secondary cremations dating to the LG period at Tregana and Delphi. The Delphi cremation is ambiguous as the only evidence of re-using a grave site from the PG period (found in Delphi). Only 3 sites have ambiguous dating, credited to the PG-LG/EA period. Burials at this site are either chamber tombs, 1 of which has evidence for re-use in later periods, or burials included in a Tumulus. Breaking down the frequency of use in sites within Phthiotis, Phokis and East Locris, *Table 10* shows that cist burials and chamber tombs dominate the mortuary landscape throughout the three regions examined in this chapter. Tumuli is seen outside of East Locris and Phokis, being used in Phthiotis.

The grave finds of most graves in Phthiotis and Phokis do not usually indicate jewellery or metal objects, with a few exceptions. Phthiotis (excluding East Locris), out of 47 burial sites, 4 have found jewellery or metal objects indicating burials of a higher social status. Phokis, out of 12 sites, 4 have finds of jewellery or metal objects indicating burials of a higher social status. However, this is different regarding East

Locris, which breaks this trend with two wealthy burials (almost rivalling the Lefkandi *Heroön*) at Bodovatsa. Looking at this site, bronze rings, bronze or gold spirals, bronze bracelets, and pendants were discovered in several of the burials. The dead were also given necklaces composed of copper, glass, or faience beads. Also 3 tombs contained bronze bowls and also contained an iron spearhead or arrowhead, while the others had an iron knife. Additionally an iron spearhead and an iron knife were found in one burial. Out of 43 graves three appear to belong to burials of high social status because of the type of the grave and or the burial gifts.[653]

In sites in East Locris (especially Atalante), there is a correlation between bronze vessels as grave goods and the social status of the interred since bronze ornaments are found in wealthy graves for the period. In this region, wealth does not always equate to a high social status, especially when the deceased is a female burial (Keswani examines a similar phenomenon in bronze age Cyprus).[654] Looking at the spatial layout of graves with substantial wealth in East Locris, these graves were not elaborate. They were not marked by tumuli, markers, or denoted by burial enclosures. These tombs were also not distinguishable in the landscape, nor was any segregation between wealthy and poorer graves throughout the various cemeteries examined. Dakoronia states that burials with wealth should be considered 'primus inter pares'.[655] The only three graves indicating high status are the 2 burials in sarcophagi and burial XXIII on the plot of Gourgias, all from Bodovatsa in Atalante. Dakoronia states that East Locris's findings show a complex social hierarchy and diversity in social stratification.[656] The elaborate graves found differ due to the diversity in grave goods

[653] Dakoronia 2006: 497.
[654] Keswani 1988: 245 cited in Dakoronia 2006: 503.
[655] Dakoronia 2006: 503.
[656] Dakoronia 2006:503 Citing Rupp 1989: 358.

with different ceramic wares, weapons, gold, bronze, dress ornaments, mortuary architecture and exceptional gifts such as sceptres, swords, shields, and diadems.[657] While Dakoronia proposes that identifying elite graves requires a combination of both the quantity and quality of artefacts and prestigious offerings bearing symbolic significance, I hold a different viewpoint on this evaluation. In my perspective, the considerable wealth disparity between modest graves and elite counterparts was substantial enough that the presence of any valuable items designated as grave goods suggests the interment of an individual from an elite family, signifying high status.[658]

By examining the artifacts found alongside burials and considering the location and duration of settlements, it becomes evident that Phthiotis, East Locris, and Phokis were active participants in the Euboean koine. Numerous sites within these regions emulated the prevailing trends in showcasing affluence and social status, much like other members within this interconnected network. It is crucial to emphasize the significance of Kalapodi location in influencing the cultural integration of its surrounding regions into the koine. This is evident from the evidence of offering that people from central Greece, Euboea, and Thessaly attended the sanctuary during the EIA, as well as the northern Peloponnese (Corinth and probably Achaia) from the mid-9th century onwards.[659] Foreign exports have also been found, such as an oriental votive offering and an omphalos bronze bowl from North Syria; this demonstrates the sanctuary's high status and connects the site to the cultural environment of surrounding territories.[660] Because of its lengthy history and placement, this sanctuary was chosen by local or even faraway elites as a site to advertise their rank and

[657] Snodgrass 1988: 345-6.
[658] Dakoronia 2006: 503.
[659] Livieratou 2019: 824.
[660] Niemeier 2013: 37–38.

compete with one another. The site intersects different micro-regions and has significance to elites from other Greek regions. It was as a result of this that this sanctuary especially garnered a large number of offerings.[661] In the 9th century, as the districts around Kalapodi grew into independent cultural units, the sanctuary's area (site of the oracle of Apollo at Abae) also gained frontier status, potentially increasing its importance as a liminal space.[662]

[661] McInerney 2013.
[662] Livieratou 2019: 823-825.

CHAPTER 7 – ISLAND CASE STUDIES: CENTRAL MEDITERRANEAN, CYCLADES, AND NORTH SPORADES.

During the EIA period, the notional cultural *koine* (see *Section 1.3)* centred around the Euboean Gulf and various regions in central Greece extended beyond the Greek mainland, with various islands in the Central Mediterranean, Cyclades, and North Sporades, where there is either found an Atticizing or 'Euboean' influence along with local ceramic wares.[663] The typical ceramic PSC wares linked to Euboean

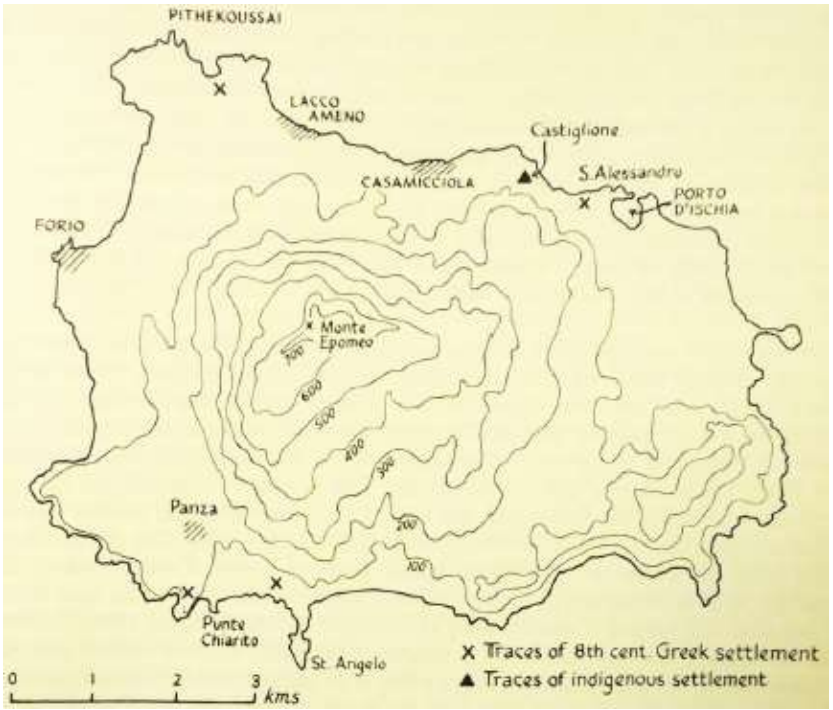


Figure 73: Settlements on Ischia with the site of Pithekoussai marked in the NW corner [664]

production have been found all over the Aegean and Mediterranean suggesting that they were a highly sought commodity to be exported and that Euboea, Athens, Corinth and other production centres on Mainland Greece were part of an affluent trade network during the EIA. Notionally the Euboeans had established an extensive trade network reaching from the Near East (the Levant) to the central Mediterranean (Italy).

[663] See n.51.
[664] Coldstream 1994: Fig. 4.19.

While evidence aligns this well with a Phoenician trading network there is also evidence of occasional 'Euboean' or Greek connections with the western Mediterranean (based on archaeological findings may have had later connotations with Greco-Roman accounts of *nostoi* and other myths).[665] However, the main challenge in studying Greek trade and settlement expansion lies in the lack of contemporary written records (as per the entire EIA), as the process began before the development of Greek historiography. While Homer briefly mentions the foundations of Rhodes and Scheria[666], these accounts are mythical and not reliable historical sources. Hesiod and Archilochus, who had personal experiences with emigration (as respective family members themselves were migrants according to the historic tradition), offer little information on colonisation.[667] Even the Greek term for 'colonisation' *apoikia* only started to appear in formal written form during the Classical period, with more comprehensive discussions on the topic found in the texts of Herodotus and Thucydides.[668] However, even their work lacks systematic exploration, and the reconstruction of any colonisation movement is found in scattered sentences, each focusing on individual settlement foundations.[669]

Memories of Mycenaean trade during the Late Bronze Age, along with the necessity for raw materials, and a familiarity with the routes and regions frequented by Cypriots and Levantines in this period, might have played a role in the renewed connections with Italy in the early eighth century BCE. This was initially undertaken by Phoenicians, followed by Greeks, establishing relations during the LG period.[670] During the EIA, Greek trading posts or settlements are found dotted throughout the

[665] Monedero 2013:14-18;Pappa 2021:1343.
[666] *Ili.*2.*661–670; Ody.6.7-11.*
[667] *Hes.WD.633-640*; Brown 1997:45.
[668] *Thuc.6.3-5, 4.129; Hdt.2.178-182, 4.144, 4.150-165.*
[669] Descoeudres 2008:290-291
[670] Adornato 2020:274

Mediterranean World, along with numerous Phoenician sites, showing an active trading network. The island of Ischia and Pithekoussai in particular had a significant Greek, Levantine, Aramaic and Phoenician presence in addition to a local population nucleus. However, limited information is available about settlement areas, despite discoveries at the Gosetti dump site and the metallurgical zone at Mazzola.[671] For the most part contemporary scholarship[672] identifies the Greeks on Ischia (at Pithekoussai – See Fig. 73) as Euboeans, given the later literary evidence.[673] The status of the settlement on Ischia is however a moot point, as in the literary tradition Cumae is described as the oldest foundation in the west by the Euboeans, with the descriptions of Pithekoussai never focusing on foundation but rather the first stage of settlement.[674] The closest classification that the site can be safely characterised as, is an *entrepôt* or Emporion, that is a permanent trading post probably with Euboeans and probably other Greeks, as well as Italic, Phoenician and other settlers from around the trade network of the Mediterranean sea. The connection to Euboea in the literary tradition may link this site back to regions in Central Greece with this chapter citing Pithekoussai and other sites as case studies to explore if the fluidity in the burial archaeology also extends to islands that have population connections to Central Greece.

The study of funerary archaeology in the Greek Islands is mainly based on reports from a small number of islands: such as at Naxos, Paros, Skyros as well as Skiathos, given their trade links to Central Greece.[675] Regarding the population centres in the Aegean, specifically at Skiathos, which is adjacent to Euboea, as well

[671] Adornato 2021:277.
[672] Boardman 1998; Adornato 2021.
[673] Pithekoussai was established either by both Eretria and Chalcis, as mentioned in Strabo 5.4.9, or solely by the Chalcidians, as reported by Livy in 8.22.
[674] Hall 2008:411, 422; Liv. 8.22.6; Strabo 5.4.4; Adornato 2021:287, n.13.
[675] It must be acknowledged that significant sites on Andros, Tenos and Thera are overlooked and that the situation regarding the trade networks of the Cyclades in itself is complex.

as the neighbouring islands of Paros and Naxos, along with Skyros, there exists substantial evidence showcasing prosperous cultural hubs on these islands. These findings include prominent features in the mortuary data, and these islands will serve as our focal case studies within this region. However, the evidence for EIA necropoleis on the other islands in the Aegean and the Cyclades is scarce and the only relevant sites are found at Naxos and Paros. It is important to note that additional sites have been discovered, such as Minoa on Amorgos, Kardiani on Tenos, where a limited number of inhumations in cist burials have been unearthed, as well as locations like Kimolos, Melos, and Thera. However, these sites are not discussed in the current chapter, as they lack clear cultural links to the regions addressed in earlier chapters during this period.[676] Also particularly sites on Andros and Tenos have been neglected as case studies, despite their links to the Euboean Koine, and also due to the insignificant number of details in the preliminary reports available.[677]

Communication among our case study islands during the EIA is typically discernible through pottery exchange, which is the principal indicator of trade and cultural interaction. Other types of imports are often rarely found, making pottery styles more dependable in terms of evidence.[678] From the published findings, Attic (or pseudo-Attic) and Euboean workshops dominated these islands in terms of ceramic stylisation in the SM and PG period until the 9th century when a distinct island style developed. The pottery of Naxos, especially during this period, is stylised by slender forms with a profile of soft contours and has an austere character.[679]

[676] Kourou 2004: 429–430.
[677] Limited information is available regarding two burials dating to this period that have been found on Andros (at Zagora and Amonaklios), and two definitive burials have been located on Tenos (at Kardiani and Ag. Thekla). Lemos 1998:45-58, links these Islands to the PG *Koine.*
[678] Kourou 1998: 167-177.
[679] Zaphiropoulou 1994: 127-152.

Also covered by this chapter will be a study of the burials at Pithekoussai. This site interacts with merchants and communities from all over the Mediterranean, with links to Euboea, Phoenicia, the Levant and neighbouring Italic populations. Foremost, this site was settled by Euboeans, with the historic tradition stating that Eretria, along with Chalcis, founded the settlement.[680] The site is also closely linked with Cumae on the Italian mainland as the source material and archaeology show a link between the two settlements, with speculation that the founders of Cumae also came from Pithekoussai and were considered Chalcidians in the historic tradition. Also, Tombs T.3 and 29 Osta at Cumae show Euboean imports. Strabo attests to this being the earliest Greek colony in the West.[681] Both sites were founded in the LG period and are roughly contemporaneous with each other, dating to c.750-725.[682]

7.1 Ischia, Pithekoussai

Excavations at Lacco Ameno d'Ischia began in 1952 and have confirmed the existence of a significant trading centre. Imports from north Syria, Phoenicia, Egypt, Corinth, Etruria, and other parts of Italy have been found. The most notable object found is the so-called Nestors Cup which was a carved metrical inscription on a

Νέστορος : ε[ίμ]ι : εὔποτ[ον] : ποτέριον·
ϝὸς δ' ἃ<ν> τόδε π[ίε]σι : ποτερί[ο] : αὐτίκ᾽ κενον
*hί*μερ[ος *h*αιρ]έσει : καλλιστε[φά]νο : Ἀφροδίτες

'Nestor… had a fine drinking cup, but whoever drinks from this cup will soon be taken with desire for fair-crowned Aphrodite'.[683]

[680] See Strabo 5.4.9 and Livy 8.22.6.
[681] D'Acunto 2017: 294.
[682] Lomas 2013.
[683] *SEG 14: 604*, 2020; Translation Dubois *IGDGG* I.2, cited in Adornato 2020: 277.



Figure 74: LGII Kotyle, the so-called 'Cup of Nestor' from Cremation Burial 168[684]

North Ionian skyphos[685] (c.730-710), which jokingly boasts that it rivals Nestor's cup (Fig. 74), following closely the formulaic language of Homer in *The Iliad*.[686] Other items include a regionally painted wine bowl known as the 'Pithekoussai Shipwreck', which depicts arguably the oldest known wreck and the earliest known Greek potter's signature formula, found on a fragment of a krater (dating to c.725–700). Also, a few locally manufactured vessels have early semitic inscriptions (Grave 575).[687] The island was the western centre of a far-ranging commerce network that brought Aegean and Levantine ideas, crafts, and workers/artisans to Italy during the second half of the eighth century, which in turn affected the orientalising artistic forms of 7th century Campania, Latium, and Etruria. The importance of Pithekoussai fell with the emergence of Cumae despite a well-stocked votive deposit attesting to sustained sophistication in the EA period.[688] The settlement of Pithekoussai, during the Geometric period, had, in addition to an acropolis and industrial quarter (where there is evidence of bronze and iron working), an extensive necropolis situated at San

[684] Gigante *et* al. 2021: 23.
[685] D'Acunto 2019:1295
[686] *Iliad* 11.632-7.
[687] Dewan 2014: 19.
[688] Ridgway 1995.

Montano, as well as a contemporary sanctuary dedicated to Hera located at the site of Pastola between the Mazzola ridge and the sea, west of the Acropolis.[689] There is also evidence that there was a settlement on the opposite side of the island at Punta Chiarito, also dating to the LG period, showing that the initial settlers exploited the wider territory. This data from this settlement allows the reconstruction of a settlement nucleus, with its necropolis also at San Montano, along with a few rural nuclei to manage livestock and crops (especially grapevines). This highlights that the settlement on the island may have been more of a permanent settlement rather than a trading post. This is further corroborated by the remains of a small rural village in the Punta Chiarito zone, also contemporary with Pithekoussai.[690]

7.1.1 San Montano Necropolis, Pithekoussai

The earliest burial at this cemetery dates to the Middle/Late Geometric period (c. 750), with an extensive Geometric cemetery excavated, with burials ranging up to the Roman period, with a notable gap in use during the Middle Archaic period (first quarter of the 6th century) to the beginning of the last quarter of the 5th century).[691] A possible explanation for this gap in mortuary activity is that there was a lack of space in the necropolis, and it has been hypothesised that it was only when the alluvial soil became thick enough that burials could resume at the site.[692] The number of burials at this site is substantial, with the total number recorded at 619, including 213 adults and 329 children (Fig. 75).[693] Out of these burials, approximately 493 are dated to the Late Geometric Period (c.750-700), although no comprehensible anthropological

[689] Ridgway 2000: 187; Nikitpoulou 2017a; d'Agostino 1994-5, D'Acunto 2019: 1297.
[690] Adornato 2020:277; Gialanella 1996.
[691] Nikitpoulou 2017a.
[692] Horsnæs 1997: 455.
[693] Nikitpoulou 2017b.

breakdown has yet been published that gives the percentages of burials based on sex.[694] Measures have been taken to assess the character of the settlement, given the presence of different cultural objects.

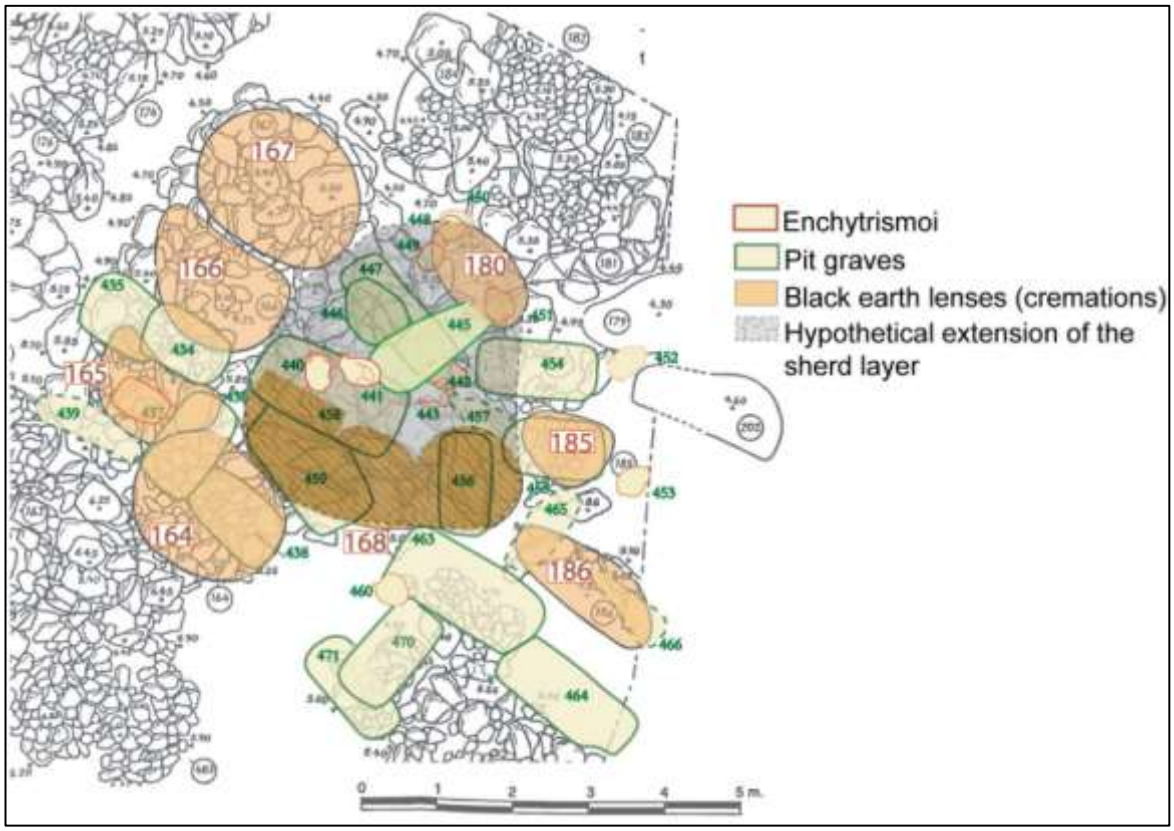


Figure 75: The grouping of Tumuli 164, 165, 166, 167, 180, 185, and 186 (from left to right) and Cremation 168[695]

Ridgway asserts that it is safe to characterise this necropolis as *'a Euboean Cemetery'* given the literary tradition regarding the foundation of Pithekoussai, as well as various other factors such as the dating of burials in the cemetery and the habitation evidence on the island with the Greek script used from the LG/EA period, as well as the Euboean weight standard observed in the archaeological record.[696] Whilst the cemetery may have strong links to Greece (both Euboea and Corinth judging from the pottery), it is essential to highlight that the overall status of Pithekoussai is still not

[694] Ridgway 1981: paragraph 4; Nizzo 2007: 25.
[695] Doctor 2000: 138; Gigante *et al.* 2021: 6, Fig. 4.
[696] Ridgway 2000: 187; Nikitpoulou 2017a.

known.[697] Other studies highlight the link (mainly from pottery fragments) with the Levant, Carthage, and Sardinia, as well as 'local material' from Italic populations, with important summaries in Buchner, Martelli, Boardman, Ridgway, Docter & Niemeyer, Docter, as well as Peserico who highlights the different extraction of the Levantine components from the 'near eastern ones' and the link to Rhodes.[698] What is certain is that the settlement was expanding rapidly during the 8th Century (with the population estimated at 5,000-10,000) and extensively trading with the wider Mediterranean.[699] There is a strong link with Greece as the burial architecture attests too (see *Section 7.1.2 – 7.1.3)*. But with no founding *oikist* identified (satisfying the criteria of a colony), and the ethnicity of its founding inhabitants uncertain, the cautious view is to accept Pithekoussai primarily as an *emporium* but expanded beyond this definition into a class of settlement not fully defined by later Greek literature.[700]

Two excavations have been conducted on the *necropolis*, dating to 1952 – 1961 and 1965 – present, but only one volume (data and illustrative plates) has been published. From a review of the excavation volume, burials that relate to the 8th century total 591 tombs (out of 1300 burial contexts), with Cremation Tombs numbered from 132 - 243, and Inhumation Tombs numbered 244 – 723.[701] A stratigraphical study of the excavation trenches shows that the upper trenches date from the Roman period to the Classical period, with the lower trenches dating to the LG and EA periods. Burials dating to the 8th and 7th century see three different types of burial found: inhumation in trench burials, cremation burials under tumuli, and *enchytrismoi* burials. Ridgway further categorises these burials into five categories based on burial goods

[697] Ridgway 1992: 108.
[698] Nizzo 2007: 19-23 cites Buchner 1982, Martelli 1991; Boardman 1994; Ridgway 1994, 1998a, 1998b, 2000a: 179-191; Docter & Niemeyer 1994; Docter 2000; Peserico 2000.
[699] Osborne 1998: 258.
[700] Following Ridgeway 2000: 186.
[701] Buchner and Ridgway 1993.

(see *Table* 10). From these burials, 1662 artefacts were reportedly uncovered, with 1180 (71% of total artefacts) dating to the EIA, and of these, 402 artefacts (24%) were attributed to cremation burials, with 80 items (5%) confirmed as non-ceramic objects.[702] *Table 10* shows that inhumation in trench burials was the dominant burial rite over cremation burials and that the burial method correlates with the occupant's age. Based on skeletal length and type of teeth found, inhumation was generally reserved (with rare exceptions) for children and sub-adults (39%), enchytrismoi was used for infant burials (children under one including stillborn) (27%), burials without burial goods (including both inhumation and cremations) are generally only seen for adults (regardless of recorded sex).[703] Overall, two-thirds of burials are children or sub-adults. The exception to these observances is inhumation burials of adults with modest burial goods, which Ridgway states show a lack of social rank.[704]

7.1.2 Cremation burials

Because of the fragmentary nature of charred burial items and the small size of bone fragments, the cremations uncovered at this site are secondary. Since the objects found are usually fragmentary (around a third of the vessels can be reconstructed from sherds found), the evidence suggests that the pyre was thoroughly 'beaten' out after burning. It is most likely that the sherds found were gathered and transported to the burial site, with much-charred material most likely left behind or dropped on the way (depending on the method of transport). The remnants of the actual pyres' have not yet been discovered. The charred remains were deposited in a

[702] Ridgway 1992: 47-48.
[703] Munz 1970.
[704] Ridgway 1992: 48, Nizzo 2007: 34.

shallow 'scoop' in the ground, described as a chaotic black level containing a mixture of tiny sherds, broken personal effects of bronze and other metals, pieces of bone,

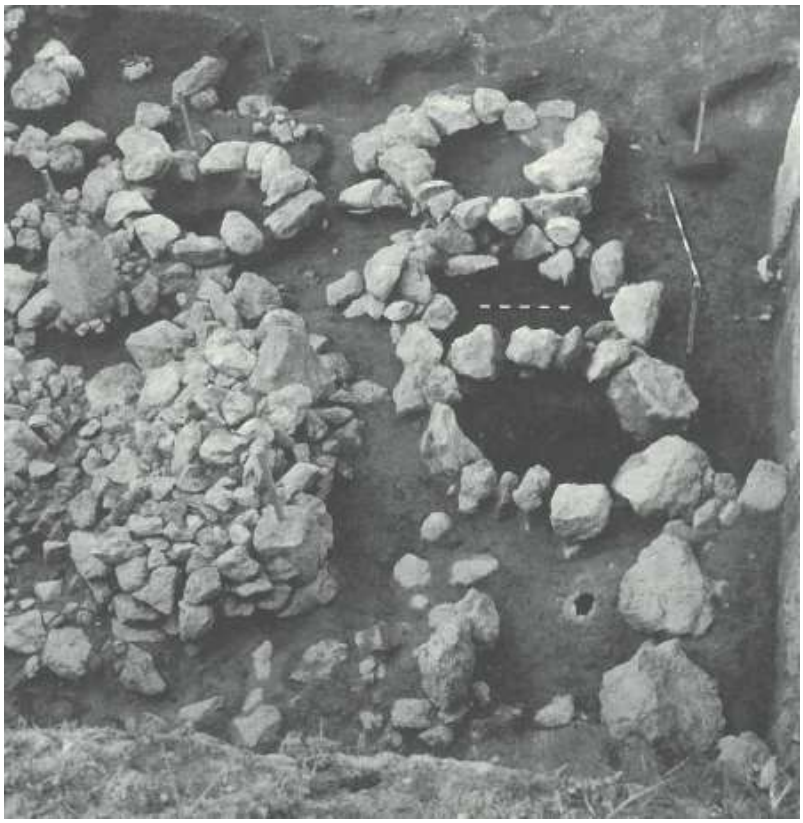


Figure 76: Pithekoussai Cremation tumuli[705]

and occasionally carbonised wood in the archaeological record. Ridgway suggests that wine was used to distinguish any smoking embers, which explains why libation jars were discovered (almost intact and hardly burned in the case of one oinochoe).[706] Each cremation grave was bounded by a circle of stones (Fig. 76), with the size varying between 1.5–4 metres in diameter. This was the foundation for the various tumuli (1–1.5 metres high) made of Zaro trachyte blocks. For those cremations without burial goods (14 out of 87 cremation burials), it is difficult to assess their social status. This type of burial is 'not so far attested in the later and poorer stages of the cemetery's

[705] Ibid., 78.
[706] Ridgway 1992: 49.

use'.[707] For this reason, one cannot derive that these burials were socially or materialistically poor, allowing for the nuance of circumstances not yet determined.

Similar patterns can be observed in cremation burials in the neighbouring settlement of Cumae, as well as Eretria, where these comparable interments are often labelled as 'aristocratic'. Furthermore, comparing these cremation practices to the burnt pottery fragments discovered at San Montano, it becomes evident that the vessels in these cremation contexts exhibit a notably elevated quality, a characteristic not commonly observed in inhumation burials. Of particular significance is the prevalence of kraters among the types of vessels discovered, a detail that could potentially indicate a higher social status associated with these burials.[708] A further link can be drawn to the uniformity of the number of cremations, with the fluctuations in the number of burials seeming to constitute further evidence in favour of the identification of the cremated individuals with the *hegemonic* faction of the island, which, as such, is reasonable given the amount of resources used to cremate an individual and the goods used or disposed of in the secondary burial.[709]

Given the accepted 'Greek' character of the cemetery, it is easy to draw analogies to sites that relate to Euboea and its adjacent areas, such as Oropos and Eretria. Mazarakis-Ainian draw similar analogies between Oropos and Ischia, and as Oropos is usually identified as Homeric Graia, he proposes that this site may have influenced other sites including Eretria, parts of Boeotia and parts of Attica, with their use of cremation most likely having an Oropian influence rather than a Euboean influence. Whilst cremation at Oropos is absent in the archaeological record, this is most likely due to torrential flooding, which caused the settlement to be moved in the

[707] Ibid., 50.
[708] Ibid., 50.
[709] Mazarakis-Ainian 1998: 203, 212; Webster 1958: 140; Nizzo 2007: 34.

Classical period (*Section 3.4*). Cremation at Eretria was the dominant burial rite (*Section 3.3 – 3.3.2*). Cremation at Lefkandi is observed, although not dominant (*Section* 3.2.2). For the cremations in tumuli burials, there are no discernible burial markers. However, similar to Athens, oversized kraters may have been used as burial markers. This parallel is drawn as several kraters have also been found, with small holes in their base, which served as depositories for liquid libations – dedications to the dead after burial similar to those found in the Kerameikos Cemetery (*Section 2.2*) [710].

7.1.3 Inhumation burials

As previously commented on, inhumation burials in trench graves with burial goods are reserved for children and sub-adults, and the second most popular form of inhumation burial found is the inhumation of infants in ceramic vessels (mainly locally made amphoras or imported chytrai). The numbers reported from *'Pithekoussai I'* indicate at least 131 enchytrismoi burials (making up 27%) of all burials, which is consistent given the usual high rate of infant mortality in the ancient world. Morris observed that *'nowhere in the world was a consistent mortality rate below one hundred per thousand even for infants (0-1 year) alone achieved until about 1900 AD'*.[711] Also, in this burial category, there are examples of where the body was too big for the vessel, with the vessel broken to help fit it in, or a 'trap door was sewn out'.[712] No attempts were made to secure the vessels securely. Several items were used to seal or plug the vessel, including large sherds from other vessels as a lid, a series of stones, or other miniature vessels. The funerary vessel was deposited on its side in a small

[710] Ridgway 1992: 51.
[711] Morris 1987: 62.
[712] Ridgway 1992: 51-52.

trench. From the archaeological context, there is no evidence of ceremonial observance or ritual undertaking. Such frequent deposits were regarded as a private family matter, so no effort was made to make a display or community ritual of the event.

For inhumation burials, the body was placed in a wooden coffin with the lid loaded down with heavy stones (whether this was done for superstition or because it was the most efficient way to seal the coffin is debatable), and large stones was also used to wedge the coffins into the trench with the emphasis or effort on securing the container. What is definite is that a mound of stones was employed as a marker for many burials (not all), as this technique of burial marking has been found on a few



Figure 77: Tomb 271 and 272 – showing the marker above the burials[713]

wealthy inhumation burials (Fig. 77). This marker is similar to the stone tumuli constructed on adult burials and may show the adolescent as a quasi-adult or of a heightened social status. Bodies in inhumation burials were laid out in a crouching position, a break from the usual supine position in other areas examined in this thesis.

[713] Buchner 1966: 9.

These burials, according to Ridgway, are evocative of Chalcolithic / Early Bronze Age burials, such as those discovered in Gaudo on the neighbouring southern Italian peninsula and may represent the burial practices of individuals outside the traditional Euboean sect, or perhaps the adoption of Italic funerary rituals.[714]

The third most frequent funeral trend is the burial of individuals in trench burials without burial goods. When compared to the other burials at this site, this can be differentiated due to this subgroup mainly consisting of adult burials, with no indication of a wooden coffin, and the burials are also usually shallower than standard Pithekoussai trench graves of the period with no stone packing or funeral markers. The lack of any discernible ritual element, combined with the presence of burials from varying social strata within the same plot, appears to support a certain level of credibility regarding the information gleaned from the limited number of tombs under examination. This could render it a valuable tool for analysing the social dynamics unfolding within the larger framework of the Pithekoussai community.[715] Given the age and burial type correlations already observed, there was most certainly a rigid social structure in situ. The cemetery potentially comprises familial plots, a hypothesis supported by utilising tumuli. These burials do not stand alone but are clustered, often featuring a tumulus encompassing an adjacent one (as depicted in Fig. 76). This could signify a form of architectural alteration, leading to a scenario where the disordered black layer partially overlays or intersects with others. Such a phenomenon could have served as a means of connection, likely signifying familial relationships.[716] There is no evidence of a surviving burial marker in three completely excavated clusters (most likely a wooden stake). Within the area of each family plot, the inhumation burials of

[714] Ibid., 52.
[715] Nizzo 2007: 35.
[716] Buchner 1975: 70-1.

infants (and some adults) and children were interned in the space not yet covered by the tumuli. As the number of tumuli increased, the inhumation burials were also covered by the tumuli, telling us about the demographic and social structure of Pithekoussai, denoting a clear stratigraphy of cremation burials over inhumation burials.[717] With the dismantling of tumuli (wholly or partially) and a new family superimposed. Incomplete stone rings have been noted, and it is not unusual to find burnt fragments of early pottery in the interstices of the stone tumuli of later tombs. Most likely, the black earth from the dislocated tumuli was removed and scattered. From 7th century burials, there is evidence that Pithekoussai was in decline, although imports are still a prominent find.[718]

7.1.4 Social Organisation

The artefacts from the burials at San Montano indicates that the bulk of burials took place during the LGI and LGII period and that each chronological period is distinct in its phase. LGI is represented by a more significant number of burials in proportion to those in proportion to LGII. The LGII burials see an influx of imported goods such as Egyptian scarabs, globular aryballoi and kotylai of Early Proto-Corinthian type. Looking at the attribute of objects between the LGI and LGII period (*Table* 12), cremations attract 24.87% of available objects (breaking down 95 out of 382 to LGI and 307 out of 1280 to LGII), and inhumation burials attract 75.13% of available objects (287 out of 382 to LGII and 973 out of 1280 to LGII).

From the observed patterns, one might be tempted to generalise the following: Cremation burials lacking burial goods tend to belong to social elites or what Ridgway

[717] Ridgway 1992: 66.
[718] Ibid., 67.

refers to as the 'upper-middle class'. Cremation burials that include burial goods are typically associated with adult interments, both male and female. Inhumations accompanied by burial goods predominantly represent child burials, whereas Enchytrismoi burials are commonly designated for infants.[719] Nevertheless, these categorisations are complicated by the burials which do not fit this pattern, such as the Inhumation burials of adults without burial goods (maybe of adults whose ethnicity has a different funerary tradition) or the inhumation burials of children that have labourers tools included as burial goods, such as Tomb 678 (dubbed '*the Carpenter Tomb*').[720] Ridgway, writing in the mid to late 20th century, again uses another class-based analogy for this tomb, describing the tools as 'working-class goods', equating them to carpenter's tools and uses this to derive a social commentary on the burial occupant, using flawed value judgements based on modern perspectives about wealth and the usefulness of tools.[721] Such biased comments should be disregarded in favour of a statistical approach to the site and burials. Conclusions should only be made where a significant number of burials display the same type of burial goods, but in this case, there is only a tiny sample size that contains such distinct tools. No overall conclusion should be drawn from these burials, further to the assertion that the cemetery appears to be largely Euboean.

Further to this, Tomb 678 is a burial that seems to have a dual identity, that of a Western Greek and an Italian native, forming a hybrid 'component' that was unique to Pithekoussai. The tomb was oriented SE–NW, with the skull at the southeast end and the skeleton in a supine position. The pit measured 2 x 1.1 metres and was surrounded by a pile of roughly squared stones on the southeast end. Like much of

[719] Ridgway 1992: 71.
[720] Kelley 2012: 217.
[721] Ridgway 1992: 71-77.

the osteological material from the site, the skeleton is poorly preserved. Despite this, the excavators speculated that the deceased was a 21-year-old male, discovered with 4 ceramic vessels, 2 bronze fibulae, and 9 iron objects.[722] The occupant of this tomb was a participant in the dynamic interplay between Greeks and the local (or neighbouring) Italian population. Although they may not have been a member of the Italic community by necessity, the evidence from this tomb strongly implies that this person (or the burial population) was well-versed in Italic ritual practice. In support of this is an analysis of teeth from San Montano, with the aim of discovering any morphological indicators that may be useful in distinguishing the ethnicities of those buried there. The results indicate evidence of the 'first premolar root bifurcation'. This dental characteristic is known to have been shared by indigenous peoples of central Italy during this period, but it is not typically associated with ethnic Greeks.[723] The genetic transmission of this trait suggests intermarriage with native members of the local population or the Italian mainland, what is dubbed the '*native wives theory*'.[724] In support of this are inscriptions on ceramic vessels, with two sets of proper names that have both Etruscan and Greek components (i.e. Larth Telicles); suggesting an hybridisation of culture; as well as italic style fibulae dominating the burial record.[725] There is also a further link to aristocratic activities on the Italian mainland, with the use of iron as this was utilised with other artefacts as part of competitive display, suggesting that the people of Pithekoussai were aware of and connected to neighbouring Italic *hegemonic* faction members.[726]

[722] Kelley 2012: 247.
[723] Ziskowski 2007: 145, summarising Becker 1999.
[724] Dewan 2014: 16-17.
[725] Ziskowski 2007: 7; Hall 2004: 41.
[726] Kelley 2012: 256.

In addition to the dynamic interplay of various cultures, the influence of Near-Eastern communities on Pithekoussai is noteworthy. Egyptian scarabs are found from the LGI period onwards, with faience scarabs found in burial contexts dating to the LGII period (725-700) only. Occurrences of scarabs made of all materials jumped by 70% from 20 finds in LGI, increasing to 34 finds during LGII. What is interesting to note is that during the proto-corinthian period (equated to the Early Archaic period in central Greece), the finds of Scarabs reduced dramatically, with only one example found dating to 700 – 650 suggesting the cessation of a viable trade route during



Figure 78: Bocchoris Faience Scarab, Pithekoussai grave 325[727]

this period.[728] This drop in scarabs during the proto-corinthian period could also be attributed to a change in eschatological belief, as scarabs were significant symbols in ancient Egypt and were frequently connected to rebirth, protection, and religious beliefs. Scarabs are primarily found in child and female tombs at Pithekoussai, as they were amulets for their protection. They might be a sign that the inhabitants of Pithekoussai were intrigued by Egyptian religious or symbolic practices and adopted elements of its culture. Alternatively, it can imply that the residents or traders had near

[727] Giovanelli 2021: 26.
[728] Buchner & Ridgway 1993: 770.

eastern ancestry, influence, or connections. There was likely some degree of blending of cultures.[729] People or communities at Pithekoussai likely mixed their own cultural manifestations with aspects of near eastern symbols or culture to create a distinctive hybrid, along with the native Italic culture as seen with tumuli markers (Fig. 77). Scarabs were primarily produced on Rhodes during this period, and were also popular on the Italian peninsular. A scarab of Bocchoris (Fig. 78) has been found both at Pithekoussai (Grave 325), dating to 715 and further north on the mainland at Vulci, in an elite tomb dating to the beginning of the 7th century. This shows a viable link to the Eastern Mediterranean during the LGII. A note of caution should be added to the dating of these Scarabs as Bocchoris' likeness remained popular even after his reign. Furthermore, even if the object did date from his actual reign, the chronology used for dating Bocchoris' reign is no longer viewed as a fixed point in any relative/absolute dating system.[730]

7.2 Aegean Islands

Considering the considerable geographical distances between the various Aegean islands discussed in this chapter and the mainland, attempting to discern a comprehensive overarching trend would prove futile. Instead, it is more pertinent to view each island as an autonomous unit influenced by distinct cultural forces that have shaped their customs uniquely. Consequently, the more productive approach involves examining each island individually to analyse the specific trends and circumstances within its context.

[729] Giavonelli 2021: 69.
[730] Gill & Vickers 1996, Ridgway 1999.

7.2.1 Naxos

At **Tragaia**, several tumuli from the geometric period have been discovered at the site of Tsikalario. There were approximately 25 mounds discovered on a rocky plateau with a domineering view of the inland valley, of which only 17 have been



Figure 79: Tsikalario Tumulus[731]

excavated, and only 2 of these were found undisturbed, forming a necropolis near a small settlement. The enclosures, built of enormous granite blocks (Fig. 79), were mainly circular, and their diameter varied from 5 to 12 meters.[732] The Tumuli found were approximately 10 metres tall, and the sand and stone mounds were supported by stone periboloi carved into regular circles. The majority of them covered a single cremation site or a cluster of cremation sites. In one example, a rectangular pit burial covered with stone slabs was covered with a tumulus. On top of the tumuli, the covering layers of sand and stones were held in position by a carefully laid stone kerb,

[731] Charalambidou *et* al. 2017: 376.
[732] Kaklamani 2017a.

often approximating a perfect circle. Most tumuli have one or more cremation pyres inside, usually on flat ground, but sometimes placed in a rectangular burial with cover slabs (e.g., Tumuli no. 14). The grave goods were divided among the cremations, mainly goods within, and charred deposits outside, some of which contained animal bones. Funeral pyres and purposefully separated sites were used to bury the deceased's offerings. Many enormous, sealed jars filled with sand were discovered in addition to the tumuli. They were most likely used to bury children whose bones had decomposed. Tumuli nos. 1 and 6 are two of the most fascinating mounds from the Tsikalario necropolis. Tumulus No. 1 was encircled with a stone peribolos, and the circumference measured 12 metres. In the northeastern corner was a stone box burial with dimensions ranging from 2.1 to 0.8 metres.[733] A stone circle measuring 3 metres in diameter encircled a cremation site beneath the mound, while a stone circle measuring 3 metres in diameter enclosed a cremation site on the eastern part. The area beneath the mound that remained was separated into uneven spaces, but nothing was found there save sand. A stone peribolos about 10 metres in diameter surrounding Tumulus No. 6 (Fig. 80, 81) was found under the mound in the southwestern part of the tomb, with a massive stone slab measuring 2.5 metres by 1 metre uncovered. In the centre of the mound, a cremation site measuring 2 metres by 1.5 metres was unearthed, within which remains of glassware, silver jewellery, and

[733] Machowski 2007: 4.

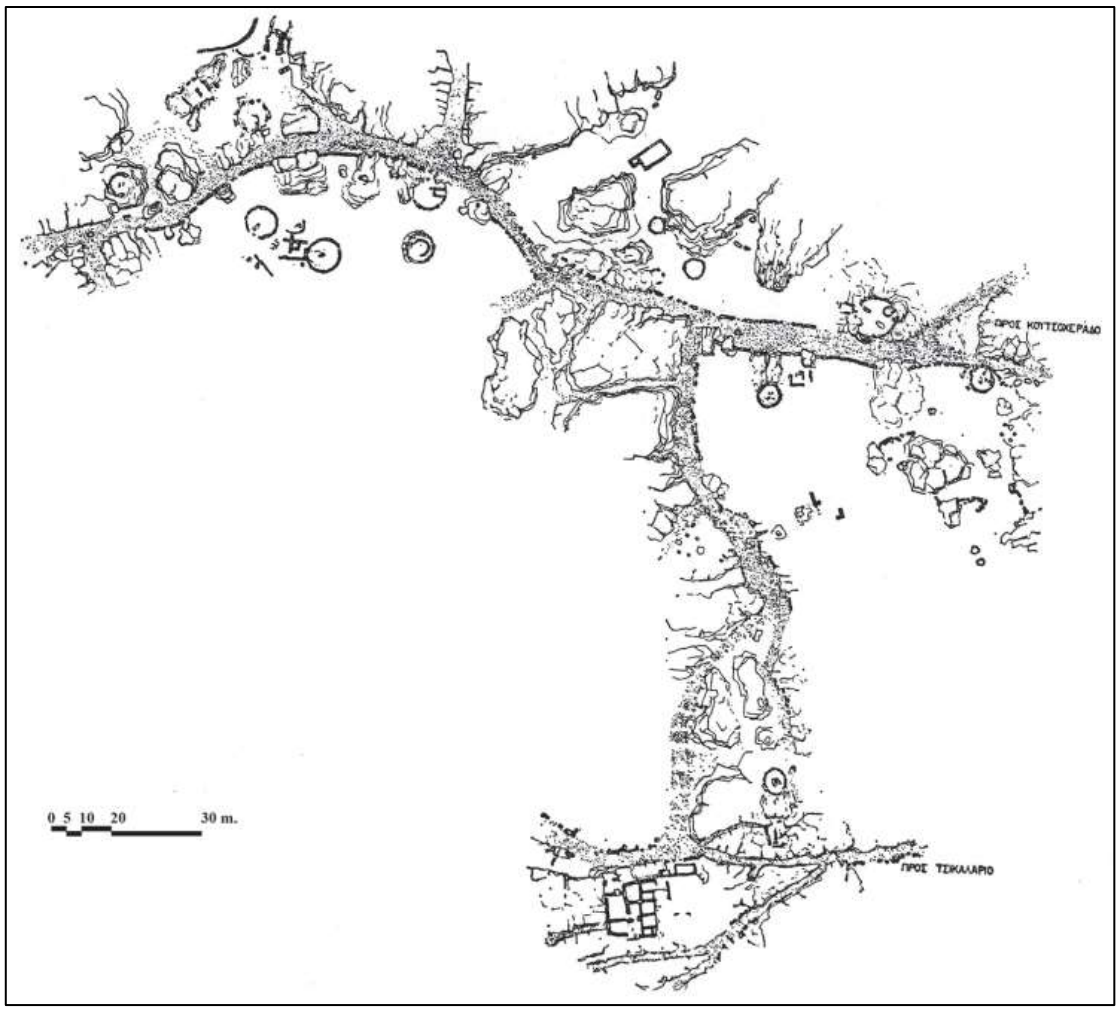


Figure 80: Plan of Tsikalario cemetery [734]

southwestern part of the tomb, with a massive stone slab measuring 2.5 metres by 1 metre uncovered. In the centre of the mound, a cremation site measuring 2 metres by 1.5 metres was unearthed, within which remains of glassware, silver jewellery, and weapons, including a shard of an iron sword, were recovered. Above the pyre, three big clay pots and a skyphos from the Geometric Period was discovered. In the southern part of the mound, there was a second burial pyre. The above-mentioned 'huge vessel filled with sand' was discovered outside the peribolos' limits south of the tumulus. A smaller mound 4.5 metres east of tumulus no. 6 was discovered, encircled by a stone peribolos approximately 4.5 metres in diameter. Except for 2 burials from

[734] Charalambidou 2021: 314.

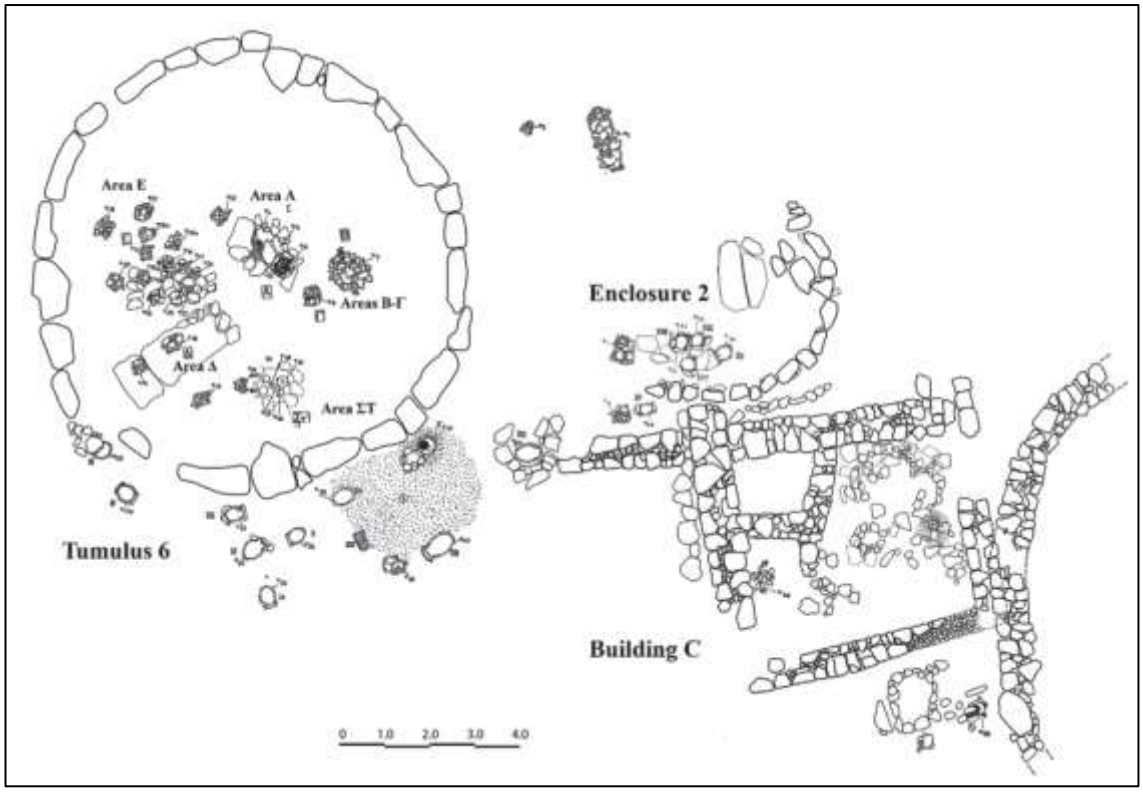


Figure 81: Tsikalario, Tumulus 6 and periphery structures [735]

the 6th century, the whole cemetery dates from the Geometric Period.[736] The lone burial here was a small cist grave for a child, with evidence of a pyre and burnt bones, just outside its boundary. The enormous, closed vessels outside the tumuli that appear to hold nothing, but sand are intriguing; presumably, they initially held inhumed infants whose bones would have decayed in these conditions. The cemetery was exclusively utilised during the MG period, except for two burials added in the sixth century (one cist, one cremation). Nine burials relating to the MG–EA were found at this site.

Almost all of the painted pots have an attic influence; one of the earliest is a flat pyxis from around 820, similar to those from Kerameikos Grave 20, and the sequence continues until about 750.[737] The discovery of a two-handled ridge-necked 'Cypriot flask suggests some communication with the Near East. The most striking shape

[735] Vlachopoulos *et* al. 2019: 1017.
[736] Machowski 2007: 4-5.
[737] Coldstream 2003: Fig. 22b.

among the abundant coarse ceramics is a pithos with engraved decoration standing on tripod legs found in inhumation tombs at Naxos. Found were 3 clay figurines of women and birds and 56 clay loom weights, 2 iron swords, a dagger, and a bronze fibula of East Asia were found.[738] The access to the site was through a road network, with two main roads, south and southeast of the cemetery. An upright slab of 3.20 metres high, stood at its northeast entrance as a 'menhir' (Fig. 82).



Figure 82: Menhir[739]

A building northeast of the necropolis (Building A) has been linked with Chthonian cults. In contrast, a complex of rooms at the southwest of the necropolis (Complex B) has been linked with funerary ceremonies. In 2012, the site was declared

[738] Ibid., 70.
[739] Scharlau 2019.

a protected site to protect the Geometric period's cemetery and the Archaic period's fortification wall.[740]

At the site of **Grotta-Metropolis Square** at Naxos Town, several enclosures with PG tombs have been discovered. However, the burial enclosures' phases are unclear because they were initially misinterpreted as either PG or Geometric house walls. During the Geometric period, a stone tumulus was erected over these structures (signifying their elite status), and thick layers of pyres and structures have also been found relating to funeral rituals for someone possibly considered a *Ktistes*. Also, at Grotta, a handful of inhumation tombs have also been discovered with no offerings, and it is unclear which period they belong to. During the LPG period, a section of the Mycenaean settlement, west of an LHIIIC fortress wall, was used as a burial site. Burials are surrounded by rectangular funerary walls (although only the details of 2 graves have been published). A mound of huge stones was discovered to the south, near the entrance, as a form of sema of the burial area. The funerary enclosures were re-arranged at a higher height during the EG and MG periods, and raised circular constructions composed of stones or pebbles were subsequently built. These structures are usually associated with practices dedicated to the deceased (with broken drinking vessels, oenochoe, animal bones, molluscs, spindle whorls and metal objects found as ritual debris). Several pyres were discovered at the site, and it is unclear whether they were funerary-related or were part of the rites performed in memory of the deceased utilising animal bones.[741] The area was enclosed by walls to the south and north during the LG period. To the North-East, circular platforms were

[740] Kaklamani 2017b.
[741] Ibid.

built on the inner side other materials around the end of the LG period (Fig. 83). Its height was estimated to be between 0.5 and 0.80 metres, with a diameter of 20 metres.



Figure 83: Naxos Metropolis Tumulus [742]

Pottery from the 6th century attests to the continuance of offerings. There is no evidence of population in the area until the Roman period, and the mound and fortress wall must have been visible until then. Between Grotta and Metropolis, more PG tombs with pyres and circular constructions were discovered amid the remains of the Mycenaean village (near the primary school and the Chrysopolitissa Church). Unfortunately, there is no additional information available on these sites. Based on this evidence and the similarities between Grotta and Metropolis, the PG graves were most likely part of the same cemetery.[743]

[742] Vlachopoulos *et* al. 2019:1016.
[743] Kaklamani 2017b.

A further two burial clusters have been found, one near the Ag. Paraskevi church and the Ag. Theodosia chapel, and the other near the Gymnasion. These two clusters have been labelled the 'South Cemetery' and are located south and southeast of Naxos town. Geometric pottery was discovered under later burials by the modern cemetery and in the Ag. Georghios area indicating the presence of Geometric burials. The burial clusters extend approximately 150 metres from the church of Ag. Paraskevi to the modern cemetery. The area was not systematically investigated, so whether the burial clusters are part of one cemetery, or more is unclear. The burials date mainly between the EG and MG Periods, with the LG period poorly represented.[744] The graves were mainly inhumation burials, and the cemetery lay on the road leading to the Yria Sanctuary of Dionysus. So far, 17 burials in total have been catalogued.[745]

Plithos is a small island off the coast of Naxos. Several graves were discovered in nearby sites. Burial customs included both cremation and inhumation. Pyres with offerings and closed vessels (usually pithoi or amphorae) containing offerings were also discovered in the cemetery area. The graves were enclosed by walls that were constructed after the burial. Several inhumation burials with no grave goods have also been discovered. Most of the time, they have been placed just on the ground, and no date has yet been attributed to them. Around 70 burials have been found. According to the anthropological analysis conducted on 43 of the burials (so far), 28 are male (approximately 15/16-50 years old), and 6 are female (approximately 12-59/63 years old). Because the Plithos tombs are positioned north and east of the Kastro hill, along with those of Aplomata, Grotta, and Metropolis, form the 'North Cemetery' of Naxos Town with the excavations continued in 2011, covering 120 square meters. Clay pipes

[744] Philaniotou 2004: 30.
[745] Kaklamani 2017c.

(dated to the Archaic period) were discovered near a cluster of Geometric period tombs in the plot (Koufopoulou). In the North Geometric cemetery, they examined 50 burials.

Published accounts state that five of the deceased were buried in a supine position in inhumation burials. At the same time, most of the rest seemed to be enchytrismoi and pyres in enclosures. The excavation yielded more than 200 vessels, including coarse and fine wares, from the cemetery. These vessels are attributed to both the PG and Geometric periods and encompass a variety of types, such as bird-shaped vessels, trefoil prochoi, skyphoi, kyathoi, hydriai, three-footed vessels, spherical aryballoi, small oenochoai, oenochoai with cylindrical bodies, oenochoai with trefoil-mouthed rims, amphorae, and a krater. They also discovered many seashells, metal and bone artefacts, clay loom weights, 2 silver beads, and 2 gold sheets. Also discovered was a heavily damaged section of the North Geometric cemetery in the plot of **Theofilou** at the site Fountana-Aplomata. The damage occurred from inserting walls and three tombs dating to Late Antiquity. In this section, 6 Geometric Tombs were discovered, consisting of 4 pits burials and 2 enchytrismoi burials. Most of these burials only yielded small finds, with three burials only containing 2 or 3 clay vessels. However, in the fourth burial, an almost complete skeleton was in an extended supine position. Burial goods include a small oenochoe, nineteen kyathoi, and a bronze fibula.[746]

Aplomata, along the coast of Naxos Town, was the site of 12 PG cist tombs. The vast majority of them were discovered to be empty. Several pithoi or amphorae (some of which contained bones) were also discovered, as well as inhumations in pits. In the vicinity of the graves, PG, Geometric, and EA sherds were discovered.

[746] Kaklamani 2017d.

Furthermore, deposits containing Geometric and Archaic pottery were discovered. According to the excavator, the material comes from the Geometric and Archaic cemetery. There were also the remains of a possible funerary peribolos discovered. These burials and those of Plithos, Grotta, and Metropolis comprise Naxos' North Cemetery.[747]

Some of the earlier burials in these cemeteries in Naxos Town may have been related to nearby dwellings. However, it appears that no burials were permitted within a short distance of the settlement beginning in the 9th century. Furthermore, there were several large and well-organised cemeteries throughout this period, indicating a rise in population and, as a result, a change in mortuary habits to accommodate this number.[748]

7.2.2 Paros

At Paroikia, near the port, a cemetery was found dating from the LGIIa period to the Late Roman period. The earliest burials were located in two large cist burials and contained approximately 160 cremation burials, identified as male aged 18 – 45 years old.[749] The first cist was trapezoidal, measuring 6.90 x 1.20-1.70 metres and contained approximately 40-50 Geometric **amphorae.** Regarding the quantity of amphorae found, a small discrepancy has been observed with this detail, Zaphiropoulou states that this tomb contained 50 amphorae, whereas a later article states that the tomb contained only 40 amphorae.[750] The second cist measures 4 x 1.45 metres and had 120 ceramic vessels situated in it. These burials, called the

[747] Kaklamani 2017e.
[748] Mazarakis-Ainian 2008a: 383.
[749] Zaphiropoulou 1999: 15.
[750] Zaphiropoulou 1994; Zaphiropoulou 2006.

Geometric *thêkê* (Fig. 84) by Zaphiropoulou, has been dated to the LG Period, with Zaphiropoulou naming this tomb using the name given by Herodotus to the tomb of the two Hyperborean Virgins, later these burials will mainly be referred to as a *polyandron* – denoting a mass burial of war dead, the first recorded leading into the historical period (dated to LGIIa) with any certainty.[751]

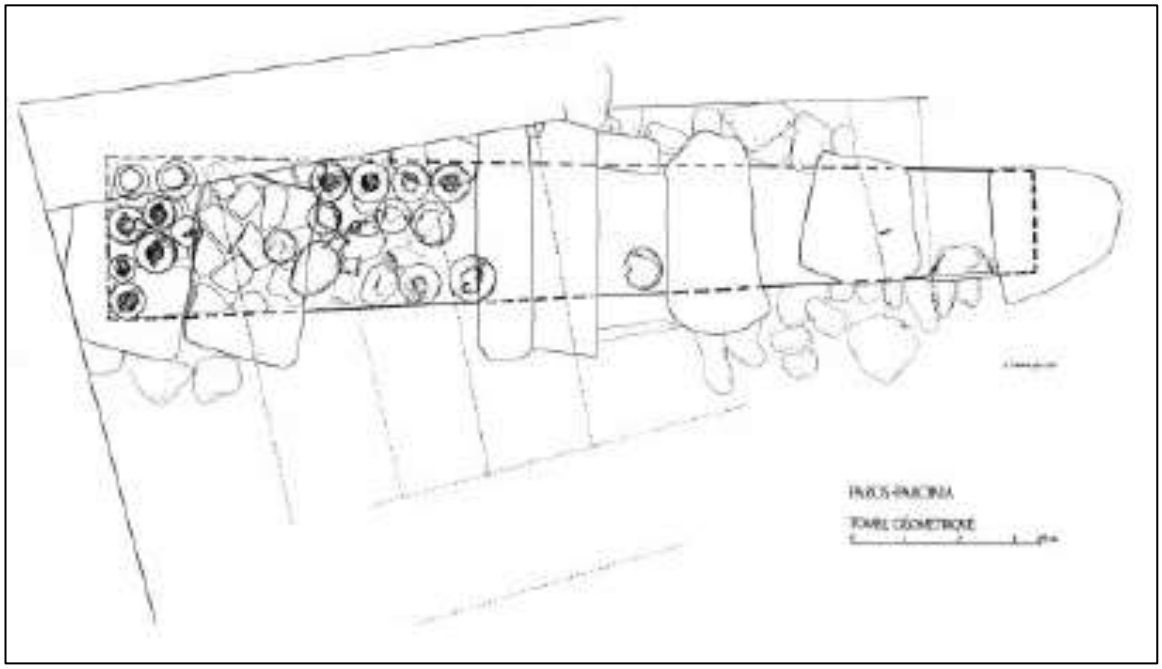


Figure 84: Geometric thêkê.[752]

The tombs are constructed of schist slabs, which were pressed together and overlapped. Such slabs were also used in lining the tomb and on the ground where the body was placed. The amphorae contained half cremated remains from the finds of burnt bones, which were shown to be washed and carefully arranged inside the vessels, and the mouths of these vessels closed with a cup or a *skyphos*. According to Zaphiropoulou, the cinerary vessels were unique in their individual forms, decorations, and lids, carefully selected to complement the style of the main

[751] Zaphiropoulou 1994: n3.; *Hdt*.4.33-4;Lloyd 2018.
[752] Zaphiropoulou 1994: Fig. 11.

container.[753] The exclusive use of schist for this construction also shows that marble quarries were underutilised in comparison to later periods and that the Parians were able to use stone with great skill, as evidenced by the construction of the walls and the floor of the *thêkê*. Given the age and sex of the deceased and that two of the vessels (Fig. 85 & 86) have quite vivid martial scenes decorated on them, as well as traces of wounds on the situated bones it is a safe assumption that these burials were of men who were also identified as warriors.[754]

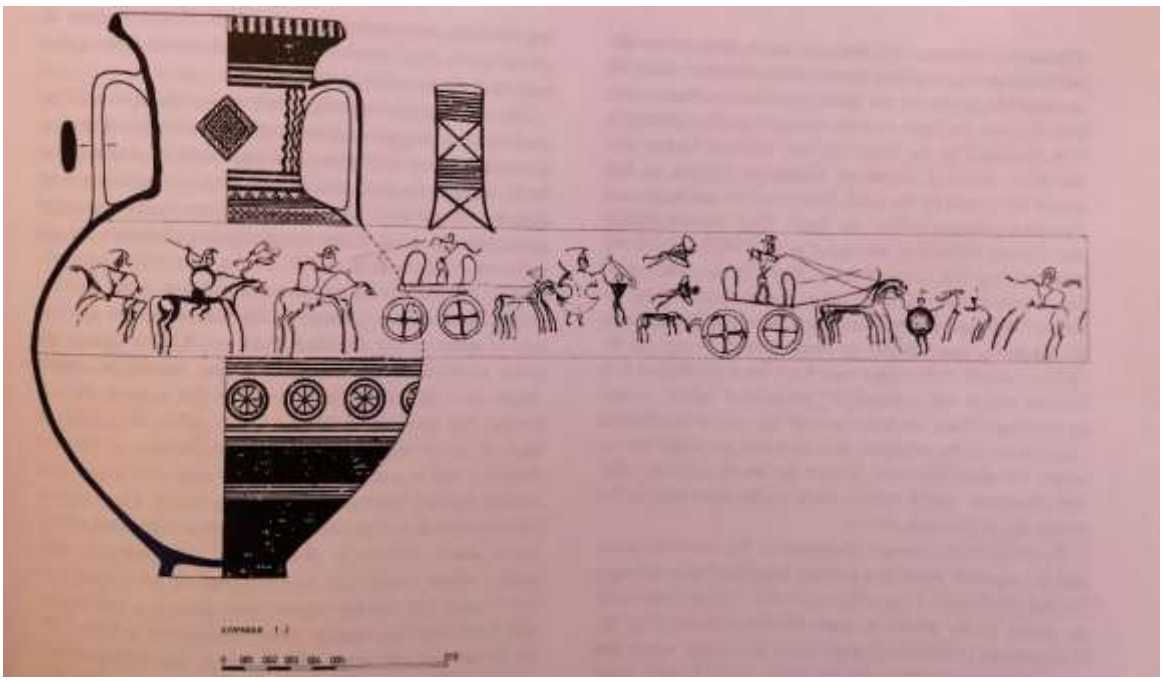


Figure 85: Amphora B3524, Martial scene[755]

The scenes depicted on the vase appear to construe a narrative; on the belly of the vessel is a warrior's death, on the shoulder is the fight to recover the body, and on the neck is the *prothesis* (Fig. 86). The vessels also show two aspects of social organisation in this particular community - the first vase perhaps depicts a raid with

[753] Zaphiropoulou 1999: 14-15.
[754] Agelarakis, Zapheiropoulou 2005 cited in Bérard 2015: 5.
[755] Zaphiropoulou 2006: 275.

armed men rushing against unarmed men; on the second vase is the scene of a well-organised



Figure 86: Amphora B3523, Prothesis Scene[756]

battle between equally armed forces (Fig. 85). This later vase also depicts round shields, suggesting the hoplite tactics of a city-state. The scenes on these vessels are paralleled by the later Parian poet Archilochus, where he describes a battle:

There won't be many bows stretched, nor much fall,
of slingers' stones when Ares his broil
move upon that plain. Swords will do their shrieking work
instead, for that's the fight they're devils at,
the war-lords of Euboea

Archilochus (fr. 3; trans. Burnett) [757]

[756] Ibid., 272.
[757] Burnett 1983: 40; Iamb. Fragmenta, Frag. 3.1-5 .

On and around these two burials, 7th and 6th century burials were also discovered. The burials have been divided into groups, each encircled by walls. The bulk is cist burials with cremation burials, with a few enchytrismoi (child burials) present. A wall most likely encompassed the entire cemetery, but more tombs have been discovered outside of this boundary. Zaphiropoulou believes the image depicts the Lelantine War, whereas Schilardi believes it depicts the Greeks or the northern tribes. However a number of graves occurred around the time Koukounaries was abandoned (675-650), indicating a more local struggle, maybe with Naxos as suggested by Lloyd. Expanding upon this the fact that the burials took place at home implies a local struggle, and no exceptional artefacts have been discovered to imply an off-island conflict.[758]

A worn stele (Fig. 87) from circa 700 and ornamented with an incised enthroned female figure was also discovered north of the cemetery. The Geometric stele from Paros is engraved with a bas-relief of a seated female figure, which probably represents the deceased as a hero, a priestess, or refers to a deity. It is one of the oldest monuments of Greek sculpture and is contemporary with the Geometric *thêkê*, which houses the remains of warriors but may mark the burial of a female priestess or denote hero status on the occupant portrayed. The deceased is portrayed in relief decoration from this era using an iconographic schema carved onto the shaft. This schema articulates the social identity to which they belong, providing a defining representation. While not widespread, the 'seated woman' schema is a recognised phenomenon, particularly during the archaic period. Ridgway categorises this stele as a '*Sitting Type 2'* (seat with a backrest but without arms), a Geometric prototype of a later recognisable Archaic model influenced by oriental influences or conception.[759]

[758] Lloyd 2018; Zaphiropoulou 2006: 276-277; Schilardi 2002: 240.
[759] Ridgway 1977: 121.

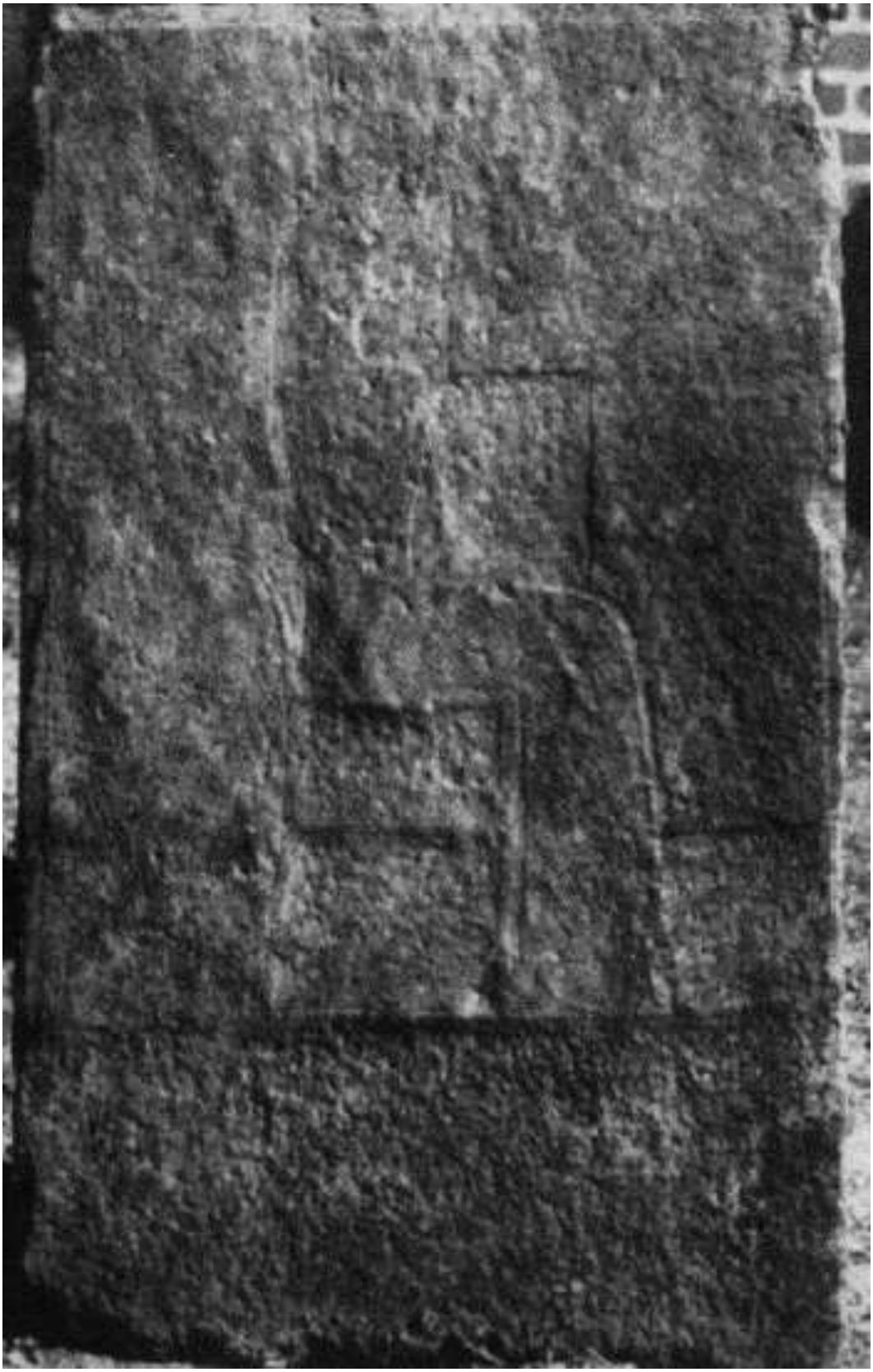


Figure 87: Late Geometric Funerary Stele from Paros[760]

[760] Zaphiropoulou 1994: Fig. 31.

The subject is rigid or stiff in the body with Zaphiropoulou stating the figure possibly depicts a wooden cult statue, or a priestess.[761] Whilst this is a logical interpretation



Figure 88: North-Syrian funerary stele from Marash[762]

given the context in which the stele was found near, there is also a parallel between this figure to grave steles found at Marash (Fig. 88) and Zinjirli in the Near East (modern Türkiye), as well as a cylinder seal from Assur all depicting single seated banquet scenes.[763] Both these grave steles also follow the LG oriental style, and depict banqueting scenes, perhaps the precursor of the *'Totenmahl'.*

The second burial site on Paros is found at Koukounaries, where a PG and a Geometric cemetery were discovered among the remains of the LPG/EA town on the

[761] Zaphiropoulou 1994: n19.
[762] Ahlberg 1967: Pl. VI -b.
[763] Ahlberg 1967: Pl. VI -c.

Acropolis of Koukounaries. It has been reported that the inhabitants of the contemporary village venerated a buried Mycenaean and re-used the ruins of his building for their own houses.[764] They were thought to be children's burials. The settlement was abandoned at one point. However, as no destruction layers have been detected in the archaeology, it has been proposed that this was the result of synoecism with the settlement of Paroikia.[765] The evidence may have been disturbed by the later use of the site. From the 9th century onwards, no burials were allowed close to the living at Koukounaries, just as at Naxos Town.[766]

7.2.3 Skyros

The most significant burial place on Skyros is **Magazia**, located along the coast and north of Kastro (PG and SPG tombs were also discovered North and South of Kastro in several sites around the island). The PG tombs are all inhumations in cists (built with slabs or stones and often provided with cover slabs). Children were buried among adults in the Magazia area and on the **south bank of the Kephissos River**. Here, the excavators reported ten burials found just north of the Magazia cemetery on the south side of the river, spanning from the PG to the SPG period.[767] Also, on the **East side of the Hill of Themis**, 5 burials dating to the LPG to SPG period have been excavated, but no further details have been published.[768] **At Ag. Ioannis-Kochilia**, out of the five tombs discovered here dating to the PG to SPG, only 1 was found disturbed, with four intact. The island's PG tombs are all inhumations in cists built with slabs or stones and often provided with cover slabs.[769] More burials were also

[764] Morris 1988: 271.
[765] Charalambidou and Vlachopoulos 2019: 1015.
[766] Mazarakis-Ainian 2008a: 383.
[767] Charalampidou 2017a.
[768] Charalampidou 2017b.
[769] Charalampidou 2017c.

discovered on the hill of **Ag. Anna**, north of Ag. Ioannis-Kochilia, at the site of Balitis. More tombs with elaborate grave goods have been discovered in the Kambos area with 3 cist tombs from the PG and SPG periods discovered. The island's PG tombs are all inhumations in cists built with slabs or stones and often arranged with cover slabs.[770]

7.2.4 Skiathos

The information regarding burials on Skiathos is limited in comparison to the other islands highlighted. This island has been included as a case study due to its proximity to both Euboea and Magnesia. Two Necropoleis at Kephala have been discovered. The first is located SE of the village, outside the walled plateau and close to the coast, where a late classical tomb was discovered during an excavation in 2011. The main necropolis is located along the coast of Xanemos Bay, northwest of the historic city. In 2013 two enchytrismoi graves (I & II) were discovered dating to the Archaic period. In 2015, a significant grave was also discovered in the same place. This was an adult cist grave that was in a contracted position. The grave contained artefacts dating back to the early 10th century but was damaged by an Archaic enchytrismos burial nearby. In 2016, an excavation to the northwest of the site revealed another 3 burials, with 2 LPG tombs (Tombs IV and V) found disturbed. A sixth grave (Tomb VI) discovered a few metres south, at a deeper level. This was also a shaft burial from the early Classical period (approximately 490-480). The activity is too sporadic to conclude that the burials are related, such as a family plot.[771]

[770] Charalampidou 2017d.
[771] Alexandridou 2017b.

7.3 Aegean Islands Conclusion

A diverse array of funerary traditions is evident throughout the EIA in the Aegean. The transition from open-air cult practices to establishing temples signals a fresh communal structure and cultic behaviour phase. Examples, such as Grotta, can be linked to the 'Procyclopean' Temple at Xobourgo on Tenos and the findings at Minoa on Amorgos as prominent instances of ancestor veneration within the Cyclades.[772] Furthermore, the transformation of familial ancestor reverence into the veneration of ancestors in Naxos town clearly indicates an enduring community that has maintained a central role not only in Naxos but also across the broader Cyclades region. This theme will be scrutinised in greater depth in the subsequent chapters.

[772] Charalampidou and Vlachopoulos 2019: 1021.

CHAPTER 8 – BURIAL TRENDS AND TOMB TYPE

8.1 Introduction

After studying regional trends in the earlier chapters, the results can be placed inside a theoretical framework by turning to the underlying connection between regions, tomb type, and explore an ideological framework for comparison. The ideologies that populate the philosophical landscape in the field of mortuary archaeology are fragmentary. Past trends have, during modern archaeological interpretation development, included theories ranging from deterministic materialism to relative idealism.[773] Respectively, whilst one branch forms a framework to measure social complexity in society, such as chiefdoms and states, the other focuses on the routine behaviours of social agents.

The measures at which archaeological examinations of death are studied today range from the individual body to the cemetery and the broader landscape. The body and its representation of identity are just one of the issues being researched. Research often quantifies differences in age, gender, social standing, health, ethnicity, the long-term roles of ancestors, symbolism and cosmology in the construction of social landscapes and social reproduction, and even discussions of death itself.[774] Given the state of the records for burials during the EIA, there are only a handful of sites that can boast conditions where the burial is preserved well and has archaeological significance for this period. Therefore, when trying to establish an inter-regional catalogue, it is only possible to draw upon those sites where information is sufficient; given the gaps, this data cannot be considered quantitative. Because of this, it is necessary to analyse burial trends more qualitatively, while still considering the

[773] Kohl 1981
[774] Chapman 2003: 311.

currently available statistics, although the less than static nature of regional boundaries shows that stats are prone to sampling variability and might result in unreliable data trends that must be considered cautiously. The absence of complete data also portrays subtleties or peculiarities that may impact regional inter-trends.

Burial trends in the various regions examined have been discussed specifically in *Sections 3.6, 4.6, 5.9,* and *6.5,* so this information will not be repeated here. However, these trends suggest collectively with specific reference to the Euboean sphere of influence or in comparison to the entire Athenian burial record was both diverse on both a regional and local level. Nevertheless, regional styles do have similarities, which could be linked to extensive travel and fluidity in population (similar to what is observed in Asine during the PG period). This is also evident in the qualitative examination of the use of tomb types in different regions and overall.[775] When looking at the overall trends (as outlined in *Table* 13), it is evident that inhumation burials in cist and pit graves dominate in terms of frequency, including enchytrismos burials, and that these account for 125 burials sites out of 314 (39.81% of total burials). Cremation burials in cist and pit tombs account for 13 burial sites (equating to 4.14% out of the total), and unknown burial type (in terms of inhumation and cremation) found in cist and pit tombs equates to 30 burial sites, which are 9.55% of the total data. Cist, enchytrismos and pit tombs (including inhumation, cremation types and unknown burial types) equate to 168 sites or 50.15% of the total, accounting for over half of all burial plots in this thesis. This is a considerable number. Moreover, given the state of the research for this area, there is another factor to consider: the

[775] Sourvinou-Inwood 1983: 49.

inadequate reporting of burial sites. Those burial sites with no burial data equates to 107 burial plots, which is 34.08% of the reported numbers (*Chart 1, Table 13)*.

The burials listed in the previous chapters are examined in this chapter and are arranged by type of tomb and complexity. The focus, however, is on the fundamental examination of the tomb types. Each section offers a definition and somewhat of a brief history of the specific tomb type (looking at architecture, locations around Greece, and use for method of interment as a comparison).

8.2 Simple vs Complex Tombs

Varied burial practises and tomb type was common during the LBA, reflecting the hierarchical organisation of Mycenaean society. However, the subsequent LBA collapse resulted in a transformation in the Greek funerary landscape. During the transitional period in the SM, individual simple pit graves became the most common burial method. Following this, during the PG and GP periods, burial customs for both inhumation and cremation became more diverse but, were simpler architecturally than those seen during the LBA. This includes a revision back to ‘simpler’ Cist, Pit, and Shaft graves, a basic (or reduced/austere) form of those constructed in the Mycenaean period. While such 'simpler' burials were the norm for both inhumation and cremation burials, more ‘complex’ tombs were not uncommon.

Complex tombs frequently have a more extensive architectural style that includes multiple burials, ritual pyres and burial enclosures or compartments. These tombs usually consist of burial complexes, or arrangements that involve many burials in the same plot or funerary enclosure, either contemporaneously or in relatively short succession across several generations. Complex tombs are also linked to religious importance or heightened social significance in the greater community and include

tomb types such as: funerary enclosures (Periboloi), Tumulus burials, Tholos tombs, and Chamber tombs. Inhumation and cremation observed in throughout.

In both these 'simple' and 'complex' burials the body was placed directly in the ground, with little evidence for any sort of wooden coffin in the majority of burials, the exception being, Pithekoussai, where wooden coffins were used (but secured by large stones), Lefkandi, in the East Cemetery (P47), the Toumba cemetery (T26).[776] There is also little evidence of a physical shroud or wrap placed on the body, but this may be due to deterioration in the fabrics due to exposure to ground conditions, as there are depictions of corpses wrapped in a shroud on a bier on LG ceramic vessels (the practice was at least normalised in Attica during this period – see *Section 9.2*). The only significant find regarding fabric for this period is the linen deposited in the 'Cypriot' krater in the Lefkandi Toumba building (see *Section 3.2.1*).[777] Also there is no evidence of a bier outside of Attic depictions on LG pottery.

8.3 Cist Tombs

With the prevalence of cist tombs being used during this period, it is worth looking at the architecture and history of this mortuary feature, comparing it to other known sites around Greece and the Mediterranean. According to Dickinson, a cist grave is a single, square, or rectangular tomb that is 'box-shaped' and lined on all four sides with upright stone slabs, although the walls can also be made of rubble, slabs, carved stones, or mudbrick and are typically capped with a stone slab (Figs. 43, 93).[778] True cist graves are entirely underground and are a more elaborate versions of pit graves. True cist burials were uncommon in the EIA, instead many of the tombs

[776] Themelis 1980: 211.
[777] See n. 265.
[778] Dickinson 1983: 57.

labelled cist graves are more akin to sheltered pit graves or the so-called 'burial enclosures', mainly found on Crete during this time. The main difference between burial enclosures and cist burials is that the enclosures are typically unroofed and wholly or partially above ground.[779] Cist graves are consistent in appearance and are found in every region examined, being the deferential burial method for the period (see *Table 15*).

Cist graves are found on mainland Greece and the Cyclades from the Early Bronze Age/Early Helladic period and there continuance throughout the second millennium into the EIA (in whatever form) attests to the continuance of an established cultural norm embedded in the social fabric (however fragmented) in the regions explored, contradicting the so-called 'Dorian Invasion theory' that predominates the 20th century.[780] The best-preserved cist cemeteries from this period are primarily located in central Greece. According to historical accounts, central Greece did not see successful colonisation efforts during this time. In contrast, traditional 'Dorian' regions like the Peloponnese, with the exception of reported cist graves at Sparta and Amyklai, and Crete, notably lack cist cemeteries[781] The fractured nature of burial trends between regions undermines the idea that multiple cist cemeteries constitute a singular cultural factor.[782] Cist tombs are found throughout the areas examined, with Magnesia, Phthiotis, and Boeotia having the greatest reported concentration (see *Table* 15).

Cist Graves, whilst the most popular form of burial, are used in over 65 sites (*Chart 2*) which is 20.7% of all recorded burial sites; of this subset of data, 39 sites

[779] Eaby 2007: 326.
[780] Dickinson 2002: 220.
[781] Raftopoulou 1997, 1998.
[782] Dickinson 2006:51-2.

are inhumation burials (60%), 2 are secondary cremation burials in cist grave (3.0%), one is cremation of an unspecified type which it is safe to assume is a secondary cremation as there is no mention of a pyre or evidence of burning in the archaeological report. There are also 23 cist (35.38%) with no mention of either inhumation or cremation burials in the report. Whilst it is tempting to classify them as inhumation burials (due to the lack of reporting on cremation features), without re-excavation, it is impossible to make this assumption as this will skew burial trends if incorrect. Given the popularity of cist graves (see Table 15), this burial form may have developed during the EIA into an elite burial practice.[783] Both Cremation and Inhumation burials utilise the Cist grave architecturally, and it is logical to assume that this burial type is tied into the plot being both a communal space in which burial rites are performed, and also a liminal intersection after death with ritual significance.[784]

8.4 Enchytrismos / Burial in Ceramic Vessels

In this period, the use of a ceramic vessel was frequently used to house either the burial of an infant or a child (*enchytrismos* – see Fig. 43, Tables 16, 31), or to contain the ashes of a secondary cremation (covered in *Section 8.9*). The primary enchytrismoi components were determined to be the same across most of the EIA in all three areas. The internments were buried at the bottom of variously sized shallow or deep pits. The funerary jars were positioned on their sides, held in place by tiny stones. Their mouths were expertly closed with the help of stone slabs, lids, or even other containers. The deceased was either put inside the ceramic vessels via the designated opening, or by carefully cutting a hole on the vase's body. The removed

[783] Lewartowski 2000: 18.
[784] Beeby 2013: 27.

part was used to seal the opening after the body had been placed inside. The enchytrismos-related burial items appear to have been deposited intact, in their immediate vicinity, whether inside the funerary urns or outside. There were additional offerings in some enchytrismoi, both within and outside the burial urns.[785] Enchytrismos Burials, was the second most popular form of burial, and used at 64 sites (20.38% of all recorded burial sites).

Enchytrismos, is a long-standing practice documented in the Aegean region. The term *enchytrismos* is also quite ambiguous, as it relates to skeletal remains found in a ceramic vessel. However, the term is often used interchangeably with the actual burial vessel (i.e. pithos burial or amphora burial). However, this can also signify the vessel used as an urn for a secondary cremation (so caution has to be exercised when attempting to catalogue and collate numbers). Enchytrismos has become the common burial practice for infants and sub-adults in all regions during the EIA, enhancing the archaeological record and providing a wealth of information for an in-depth analysis of this funerary ritual. When faced with the death of a specific group of people, the living actively chooses whether to provide any special mortuary care. Based on this, there was three separate but interdependent aspects of the enchytrismos ritual: the acts involved in performing an enchytrismos, the age group chosen to be buried inside these burials (infants and sub-adults), and, finally, how the living treated these sub-group in the event of their death. The frequency of this burial ceremony was a well-planned social act focused on protecting the corpse by concealment in an appropriate ceramic vessel. Because the rite of enchytrismos mainly affected the community's physiologically youngest members. The decision to give the young, who had long been regarded as an 'insignificant' social category, such a careful funerary treatment

[785] Vlanti 2022: 7.

indicates that their premature death had a significant impact. Thus, in the framework of the current study, 'non-adults' appear as a complex social category whose death may set off a chain of social reactions that highlight the need for protection and a permanent connection to their family, infused with sentimental significance and attachment.[786]

There are differences in the kind of ceramic vessels used as burial containers. In Attica and Euboea, amphorae and pithoi are the most typical types, whereas in Boeotia mainly pithoi were used for this practice. There is a significant range in the quality of vessels used as such containers, both in terms of construction and decoration, from simple, small examples made of coarse pottery and decorated utilitarian containers to bigger and more remarkable ones that are frequently ornately decorated. Examples of the latter type include the well-known 'Eleusis amphora' from the West Cemetery of Eleusis, the 'Eretrian amphorae' from the Hygionomeion cemetery in Eretria, and a substantial number of pithoi from Boeotia, whose height might reach 1.80 metres.[787] None of the burial vessels appear to have been created with the grave in mind. It also applies to the larger and more magnificent pithoi and Eretrian amphorae, whose capacity for long-term storage made them essential for the household's survival. These containers exhibit signs of domestic use on their surfaces, such as evidence of fire and repairs.[788]

Offering deposition patterns show the frequent insertion of drinking-related miniature containers inside enchytrismoi, occasionally forming full-scale 'drinking sets'. This is common among all regions under study and throughout the LG and

[786] Vlanti 2020.
[787] Vlanti 2022.
[788] Ibid., 7.

Archaic periods. Nevertheless, regional and chronological particularities are also observed. For example, in LG, coarse ware pitchers of regular size are found within the burial pits, compared to white lekythoi, which become an indispensable part of the funerary assemblage during the Late 7th and Early 6th century. The rite of enchytrismos almost exclusively involved the biologically youngest (foetuses, newborns, infants, and small children) in Attica and Euboea, demonstrating the importance of age as a selection factor. By selecting a different burial treatment, the treatment of the young as a separate group after death may suggest the desire of the living to emphasise the contrast between 'adults' and 'non-adults'. This shifts during the EA Period, which is a time when adult enchytrismoi also becomes more prevalent.[789] Every burial practice has social and symbolic components intrinsically linked to the people who make this decision. Enchytrismos burials, belonged to the biologically youngest members of their respective societies. Young people's enchytrismoi are commonly considered metaphorical allusions to the deceased person's return to the womb. This point of view is supported by the fact that vessels and *uteri* share morphological characteristics, and both appear in literature from the Hippocratic Corpus. This notion is attractive, but the change to include mature dead does not support it.[790] Ceramic containers offer the means for safeguarding and conserving delicate skeletons. Vessels would also encircle and confine the deceased in their primary role as containers, thus defining the space that the departed claimed as their own. Another example of how the usage of vessels for funerals contradicts the idea that children play a little social function is the desire to symbolically link the departed to the family home for all time. These vessels were initially created for the transportation and storage of goods.[791]

[789] Ibid., 8.
[790] Ibid., 9.
[791] Ibid., 9.

8.5 Pit Tombs

Dickinson argues that the majority of graves throughout prehistory and history are likely to have been forms of pit burials (Fig. 42), which there is no need to place at any great distance from settlements; there may even be ritual reasons why graves should be placed near if not within them.[792] There are numerous reports highlighting generic inhumation burials or pithos burials. Because the burial's content dominates the description, the burial type is omitted and was presumably a simple form of inhumation (probably a pit burial). The likelihood that pit graves may be disturbed by later activities, including using the same space for subsequent burials, as was commonly the case in Athens, is considerable. In such situations, earlier graves were undoubtedly not always honoured. They were commonly built into or over, raising the possibility that anything of value was taken out regularly. As noted on page 278 depicting well-known cemeteries as 'completely excavated' is misleading.[793] At most, what has survived has been fully excavated but even demonstrating this is not easy. This is shown, for example, by the continuing discovery of significant graves in the Kerameikos, and the Toumba cemetery at Lefkandi, and the evidence that the SM–LG Erechtheiou Street graves at Athens were part of a larger cemetery area or extended family burial ground.[794]

According to Dickinson, a pit burial is just a more or less rectangular-shaped hole that has been carved into the ground or bedrock. However, it can also be circular or even round.[795] However, the definition of a ‘shaft grave’ has been muddled in the literature due to the term's various uses. While the phrases ‘pit’ and ‘little shaft’ relate

[792] Dickinson 2006: 176.
[793] Morris 1987: 76, 77.
[794] Brouskari 1980; Dimitriadou 2021:133.
[795] Dickinson 1983: 56-57.

to soft and hard earth respectively, the more regularly carved rectangular pits are sometimes referred to as shafts. Pit graves will also include tombs described as trenches, like those at Athens, as well as Pithekoussai (see *Sections 2.2* and *7.1*), as well as tombs that suit these descriptions and were named shaft graves by the excavators. Further, burial pits discovered in chamber tombs, tholoi, and caves will be examined within their respective tomb types, as well as pithos graves for which the presence of a pit is unknown. EIA pit graves were a common burial style, appearing at most sites and areas (especially if they include enchytrismos and pithos burials). Most of these tombs are either circular or elliptical pits dug into the ground or bedrock; the remaining ones were typically only roughly square or rectangular.[796] Typically, each pit grave contained a single burial and included both inhumation and cremation burials.

Pit Graves, whilst the more popular forms of burial, are used over 39 sites (*Chart 3*) which is 12.42% of all recorded burial sites in our research area; of this subset of data, 22 sites use inhumation as the primary burial type (56.41%), 3 sites report primary cremation burials found in pit grave (7.69%), 2 reports secondary cremation burials in pit graves (5.13%). 5 burial sites (12.82%) see an unspecified type (which is safe to assume is a secondary cremation). This last category accounts for 7 burial sites (17.95%). Pit tombs are found throughout central Greece, with Magnesia and Boeotia having the most significant concentration (see *Table* 17).

[796] Eaby 2007: 305-6.

8.6 Tholos Tombs

Most Tholos tombs built during the EIA consisted of a pit cut into the bedrock or soil (Fig. 61, 66) and lined with stones to form the enclosure/walls (these stones typically were irregular and unworked fieldstones). Tombs were frequently carved into the sides of hills and were frequently mostly underground. There are several graves from this period with no dromos, while others had very brief ones that were often no more than a pit or trench. A few tombs had significantly longer dromoi, either lined or unlined. Eaby notes that tombs of this period reused Bronze Age Minoan and Mycenaean archetypes. However, they are explicitly commenting on Cretan Tholoi - with little comment passed on tombs constructed on the mainland, although the examples reported suggest the same basis.[797]

Stone-built tombs descended from the observed Bronze Age tholos continued to be constructed and utilised for numerous burials in Thessaly (as well as Messenia), which was, in a sense, a peripheral location moving beyond the typical Mycenaean world.[798] Tholos tombs were typically utilised by the ruling elite during the Mycenaean Period, with their shape serving as a symbol of prestige, wealth, and power. However, by the EIA, the tholos tomb had lost its standing as an elite tomb type. The few tholos tombs discovered (*Table 18*) are small and nondescript. However, they are tholos-shaped or rectangular vaulted graves that are still being constructed in stone and cost a significant amount of wealth to construct.[799] When compared to other contemporary graves, the contents discovered are not noticeably different (the rectangular Mouliana tombs on Crete are a partial exception, being small but notably rich).

[797] Ibid., 201.
[798] Georganas 2000; Dickinson 2006: 246.
[799] Dickinson 2006: 74.

Tholos Graves, as a popular form of burial, are found located in 20 sites (*Chart 4*) which is 6.37% of all recorded burial sites; of this subset of data, 9 of these sites use inhumation as the main burial type (45%), 2 sites report reports secondary cremation burials (10%), and 9 burial sites (45%) report an unknown burial type. Whilst not found throughout central Greece, Tholos tombs are more of a cultural phenomenon on the periphery of the Mycenaean world in northern Greece. For our purposes, Tholos tombs are primarily located in Magnesia and also found in other areas in Thessaly, such as in Larissa (at the site of Marmariani).

8.7 Chamber Tombs

Although chamber tombs are not frequently constructed in central Greece during the EIA, their Mycenaean counterparts were occasionally reused, as found at Thebes on Kolonaki Hill, and at Velestino. At Kolonaki, a skyphos was found in the dromos of Chamber Tomb (Grave 27), suggesting that the tomb was reused during the PG period.[800] At Velestino, two Geometric pit graves have been excavated over a Mycenaean chamber tomb showing a connection, however tenuously.[801] This tomb type is anomalous for central Greece as a whole. They become more common at Phthiotis and Phokis, where there is an increase in use during the PG period, whilst other regions are reusing the remnants of the Mycenaeans culture that preceded them. There is a continuation in these regions with little of the defragmentation found in central and southern Greece. This may be mainly because Phthiotis was on the periphery of the Mycenaean world, which accounts for the continued use of the Tholos tomb in this region.

[800] Symeonoglou 1985: 85.
[801] Karouzou 2017e.

Chamber Tombs are found located in 12 sites (*Chart 5*) which is 3.82% of all recorded burial sites; of this subset of data, 3 of these sites use inhumation as the main burial type (25%), 1 site report reports secondary cremation burials (8.33%), and 8 burial sites (66.67%) report an unknown burial type (see *Table 19*). Chamber tombs are not found throughout central Greece but are a cultural phenomenon outside the traditional Mycenaean areas heading into northern Greece. The chamber tomb, a tradition from the LBA, continued with newly constructed tombs that mimicked the previous designs but with more care and at a diminished scale. A dromos served as a monumental entryway.[802]

8.8 Funerary Peribolοi

A notable phenomenon during this period is the rare occurrence of funerary peribolοi, which usually denote an exceptional burial structure (whether complete or partially intact). The burial enclosures for this period were primarily constructed out of schist, limestone, or the building materials are not recorded (undefined stone). The definition of peribolos has not been standardised, as many scholars either denote a peribolos as a 'retaining wall for an earth fill that is piled up behind it' or as a structure in its own right. [803]

For the few examples that are recorded (see *Table 18*), there is a pattern that the burials are either linked to a nearby in-situ cist burial or that the funerary peribolos is physically attached to, or confused with a Tumulus structure (see *Section 8.10*), such as the case at Tskialario Cemetery on Naxos where the terminology is fluid.[804]

[802] Dickinson 2006: 182; Mureddu 2016: 81.
[803] Closterman 2017: 633.
[804] Charalambidou 2018: 149-151.

In either case, there is no doubt that the burials enclosed within were exceptional, given the amount of labour undertaken to show the demarcation of the burials within the funerary landscape.

One has to consider that any sizable peribolos structure would involve a crucial group of labourers to be organised from the family or community, even involving the remuneration of quarry workers. Stone cutters were employed to produce the schist slabs, limestone, or other stone, and considerable effort would have been needed to convey the building materials to the burial plot.[805] The idea of the funerary peribolos serving as a sacred precinct cannot be dismissed entirely. At East Locris, the peribolos are connected to a stone cairn that helped to distinguish the various burial clusters at the cemetery and may have served as a sema or ritual feature. However, despite the context, this theory needs more evidence to conclusively link ancestor veneration to the structure.

The best-recorded examples of funerary periboloi examined in this thesis are found in Magnesia at Halos, as well as at Naxos, East Locris and Athens. The use of funerary periboloi at Naxos and Athens is even more significant, with evidence of several funerary periboloi nearby at one site at Naxos (Metropolis Square), two linked to a Tumulus burial and the third connected to the cist burial of a child; this in conjunction with two other burial plots which also employed the use of periboloi. Whilst the clearest examples are found in Athens, where a peribolos was constructed circa the 8th century, built around remnants of a cemetery south of the Acropolis that was used from the LBA to the EIA.[806]

[805] Tsaravopoulos & Kroustalis 2009: 211.
[806] Antonaccio 1995: 121-124.

Funerary periboloi are found located at 8 sites (*Chart 6*) which is 2.23% of all recorded burial sites; of this subset of data, 4 of these sites use inhumation as the main burial type, and 3 sites report secondary cremation burials, whilst burials at 1 site is unclear. Whilst *Table 20* lists ten sites, two have not been included in the overall statistics as the archaeological reporting on them does not distinguish between a funerary peribolos and that of an architectural wall in the Classical sense (not attached to a mortuary feature).

8.9 Cremations, Funerary Pyres, and Urn Burials

There are multiple reasons behind the choice to cremate the deceased, aiming to reduce the body to small fragments. The overall purpose behind this is done for several reasons: i) Functional Aspects, where cremation might be employed to control disease outbreaks or to save space in organised cemeteries. Additionally, it could contain odours when burials were near settlements. Conversely, when burials were situated away from settlements, cremated remains could have been favoured due to their ease of transport and portability to designated burial sites. ii) Social roles. Cremation burials can signify various social aspects, including high or low status, gender, age, class, outcast status, and cultural identity. The most prominent example is the Geometric *thékè* on Paros at Paroikia where 160 cremations of probable adult males were discovered linked to a *polyandron* iii) Social process. Cremation can lead to the destruction or creation of identity, eschatological transformation, ancestor creation/veneration, communal integration, eradication of the past, and influence of

religious beliefs. iv) Other. Cremation was practised as a personal preference of the deceased or the family or for reasons unknown.[807]

Cremation in the regions studied reached the height of its popularity at several burial centres in the Aegean and was preferred above inhumation in locations; this preference would seem to be purely personal, and due to personal choice and or circumstance.[808] Dickinson notes that cremations are more prevalent where contacts with the Middle East (where cremation was used in the Syro-Palestinian area) persist; however, there is a need for more systematic examples overall for this period to assert this with any degree of certainty. Whatever its origins, the incorporation of cremation as a burial method could have been influenced by foreign practices, the final implications of which remain unknown.[809] For our purposes, cremation was the most likely predominant burial method at Lefkandi and Pithekoussai and appears to be linked to Social Status. Through the regions examined, cremated remains are buried in several ways, demonstrating the diversity of the regions and the internal social practices within. The main variation involves how the cremated ashes were disposed of/ buried: i) Secondary Burial (for a definition, see *Section 1.7*), this style of internment was popular at Athens and Naxos (as well as Argos and Khania tumuli) where there is significant use of amphorae as a vessel, but there are also other examples of other types of pots used in the areas examined (i.e. Pithoi at Thebes). The burial goods were usually arranged around the vessel, and another open vessel (whole or fragment) serves as a makeshift seal; ii) The placement of ashes in a shallow scoop pit burial, without using pots or receiving vessels in Secondary Cremation graves (such as at Pithekoussai); and iii) The placement of ashes in a hole without the assistance

[807] Kontonicolas 2018: 24.
[808] Mureddu 2016; Dickinson 2006: 185.
[809] Mureddu 2016: 81-2; Dickinson 2006: 186.

of other vessels.[810] Whilst Secondary Cremation practices are also seen in the both the Hallstatt and Urnfield Cultures of LBA and Iron Age Europe, there is little evidence to suggest a mass migration from this area, as there is no paradigm shift in terms of personal objects or ritual paraphernalia. Most likely, there are incursions by small groups or individuals part of a trade network but who ultimately assimilate to local culture rather than subsuming it. This is seen at Pithekoussai, Lefkandi, and Pharsala. This however suggests inter-settlement marriage rather than the migrations of individuals with a different ethnicity.[811]

The difference between cremation, as practised during the LBA, and Secondary Cremations as seen during the EIA is a difference in chronological sequence and the ideology behind the implementation.[812] The ratio between the two customs does not indicate a fundamental shift in how society views the dead. Given the prohibitive costs of human labour and fuel, single graves and the current practice of cremation are both signs that the affluence of these people may have increased.[813] At Lefkandi, there is evidence of funerary pyres. However, their status is unclear as to whether they represent the burning of offerings or primary cremations, especially as there is evidence for inhumation burials on the same site. Themelis has proposed a hybrid system, like the burial method observed at Toróne, Vergina, Perati, and Assarlik, where charred remains are found displaced from the pyre, wrapped up and deposited in a full-sized inhumation (usually trench) burial.[814] This was also practised at Eretria, in the EA period at the West Gate Cemetery, and at several sites in Boeotia and Naxos (see *Table* 21). Without textual sources, it is only conjecture as to why this burial style

[810] Dickinson 2006: 184-186.
[811] Panagiotopoulou *et* al. 2018: 606-607.
[812] Falkenstein 2011: 329.
[813] Mureddu 2016: 82.
[814] Themelis 1979: 211-213.

was used. Whether or not a changing social structure made cremations more widespread, the reason for the ritual or religious practice is still unknown. Consequently during this period cremation burials fall into the following categories, Primary burial usually found to be undisturbed; Secondary burial, with the cremated ashes moved from the site of a pyre to the burial location; and selective secondary burial, where specific body parts are removed and buried.

The presence and placement of pyres, where applicable, vary and are unclear in the archaeological reports for this period. Pyres can be included in groups of both inhumation and cremations. The placement of pyres falls into four data groupings: i) The pyre is placed in the context of the burial plot, usually enacted in pits and cists indicating either Primary Cremation or a ritual pyre. Examples of this are found at Naxos, where there is evidence of the pyre in the burial enclosures at Plithos. However, the archaeological reports do not state if such contexts were funerary or ritual. ii) The pyre is placed near the burial plot and could be employed in a funerary or ritual context. The majority of remains for pyres for this period fall into this context, with examples at Lefkandi, Eretria, Pyri (Thebes), Ellopia and Sesklo. iii) The pyre is missing entirely from the cemetery area. Pyres are inferred from cremation and burnt refuse found inside the burial context, such as at Kerameikos in Athens and Pithekoussai, but with little evidence of pyres nearby, suggesting that the cremation took place away from the burial site or that the pyre context has not been uncovered. iv) The pyre is not specified in the archaeological report. The burial reports a cremation burial but does not comment on whether a pyre context was found or not found.

8.10 Tumuli and Heroa

Around the end of the Neolithic, tumuli made their first appearance in Greece. There are numerous examples of Tumulus graves dating to the BA. The MBA era was unquestionably the most prolific time for tumulus burials in Greece. According to Machowski, there are currently about fifty of these tombs known, mainly from the Peloponnesus (especially the south-westerly half), but also from Central Greece (Attica, Boeotia) and the north (Thessaly, Epirus). However, given the date of his research, it is likely that the figure has changed.[815] Burying the deceased beneath tumulus mounds continued during the LH Period but became far less common. However, after the LBA collapse, during the EIA, the practice of building tumuli persisted, and there is continuity in terms of trend into the Geometric and Archaic periods (see *Table* 22). Since then, they have been found throughout Greece, even in regions where Tumuli burials were generally not typical during the Bronze Age. Study into EIA archaeological sites is generally far less systematic than those at Bronze Age archaeological sites, and it is generally agreed that PG and Geometric Period tombs were covered with modest earth mounds (See example from Pithekoussai Fig. 75, 76).

Previous chapters have examined 11 instances of Tumuli burials spanning through the various regions in central Greece and having a central presence in Naxos and Pithekoussai. In terms of numbers, there is frequent use of Tumuli in Boeotia (Vranesi and Paralimni Lake) and especially Magnesia (as part of a wider trend in Thessaly), respectively.[816] Tumuli from the EIA in Thessaly can be classified into two categories: i) Tumuli built over PG and Geometric tholos tombs such as Agioi Teodoroi and Chyretiaj are examples of this category, and ii) Tumuli built in the later part of the

[815] Machowski 2007: 1-2.
[816] Coldstream 2003: 202; Machowski 2007: 11; Lemos 2002: 170.

PG Period (SPG), primarily over funeral pyres.[817] In Magnesia, the 'Voulokalyva Tumulus Cemetery' at Halos is near Platanos Almirou and is situated north close to the Voulokalyva cemetery that housed inhumations. The Almiros and Sourpi Survey Project (led by The University of Groningen, the Netherlands) has found and mapped more than 40 tumuli. Due to their modest height, EIA Tumuli, which are modest sized mounds covered in stones and earth, can occasionally be challenging to find.[818] Tumuli from Halos are especially characteristic of this group. The funeral pyre, stone layer, and earth mound known as the Halos tumuli are distinctive to Thessaly. Other Tumuli include the Lefkandi Toumba *Heroön* (*see section* 3.2.1), with the burial shafts beneath it, as well as those found in the San Montano *Necropolis* at Pithekoussai (*see section 7.1*) and Tsikalario at Naxos (*Section 7.2.1*).

Given the elevated construction of Tumuli burials, there has been a link with the burial of notable elites who may have styled themselves as epic heroes. Other structures in Greece may be tied to such as Heroa, even though this connection is quite tenuous. Heroa include the Lefkandi Toumba building and standalone structures such as at Eretria, Athens (near the Areopagos on the SW of the Agora), and possibly Oropos (see *Table 23*) and Eretria *Heroön*. A location south of the city's West Gate had 19 graves. Only seven of them were interred using cremation; the rest were buried using inhumation. Cremation burials included bronze cauldrons with ashes within that were covered with slabs of lead, and the entire area was covered in stone slabs. An equilateral triangle of massive, horizontal stones dated around 680 was built above the burial site. This building effectively signalled the end of burial area use. A sizable bothros, or pit, was excavated south of the triangle, where the sacrifices and banquets

[817] Machowski 2007: 7-8.
[818] Karouzou & Prappa 2017d.

held throughout the seventh century were deposited. A rectangular peribolos wall was constructed around the triangle in the late seventh century. Later, an *oikos* or *andreion* was constructed over the bothros during the later historical period. Since the main Geometric necropolis of Eretria was at least 700 metres to the south, the area is believed to be the location of a *heroön*, and the graves found beneath the triangle of stones are thought to be those of prominent local elites. The burial site's location, originally outside the city walls but later integrated within Eretria's fortifications, adds credence to the idea that it was a sanctuary. The construction of the triangle and, later, the peribolos wall show attempts to monumentally mark and protect the burials below. The bothros, or sacrificial pit, is another indication of the ritualistic activities that took place. It was uncommon for burials in the Geometric and Archaic periods to have triangle structures. One of the triangle's angles is facing precisely north; this orientation may be deliberate. The triangle seems to allude to a sacred restriction of the area, and its shape may be connected to the intersection of ways and Hekate worship.[819] The triangle also acted as a sema, or symbol, because each burial below was not explicitly designated. The *heroön* offers crucial details on extraordinary Geometric funerals: the shape that the burials adopted is consistent with epic, Homeric accounts of the interment of heroes. Weapons were the most prevalent type of grave goods, which suggests that a feudal elite honoured their dead, who may have perished in battle, by offering regular (annual?) sacrifices at the burial site.[820]

A so-called ‘cult of heroes’ permeated Greece is familiar from the epic poems of Homer and had a significant impact on the survival of the custom of building tumuli over graves. As a result of this practice over cremated remains, little earthen mounds

[819] Bérard 1970: 62.
[820] Bérard 1970: 13-71.

with stone stelae or ceramic vessels were erected. The Iliad's poetic descriptions of Hector and Patroclus' funerals resemble this style of funeral customs.[821] Even though there were numerous political upheavals, local migrations, and military raids in later eras, the habit of erecting tumuli not only did not fade away but may have gained importance. Many ascribe some of these structures to people identified as Heroes, who may have died in combat, or elites who had the sociological importance to warrant an ostentatious burial.[822] The poems of Homer had a significant cultural impact on this procedure and established and sustained the Greek custom of burying heroes behind raised dirt mounds. The Marathon 'Soros', a massive tumulus containing the remains of honourable Athenians who fought against a Persian raid, is undoubtedly the pinnacle of the practice of how the Greeks honoured outstanding people during the Geometric, Archaic, and Classic periods in terms of erecting a Tumulus.[823]

8.11 Miscellaneous Tomb Types

8.11.1 Shaft Graves

The term 'shaft grave' is essentially an elaboration of the basic pit grave. They consist of a pit cut into the ground (or bedrock) with a roof made of wood, reeds/twigs, clay, or flat stone slabs supported by walls or ledges (a ledge is formed by cutting back the upper edge of the shaft.). The real shaft is above the roofed pit grave, filled with earth after burial or with bedrock dug out. The most famous shaft graves are those discovered at Mycenae (Grave Circle A and B), and the tombs labelled as such in this thesis may resemble the Mycenaean Shaft Graves but in a more basic form.[824] During

[821] Machowski 2007: 2.
[822] Antonaccio 1994.
[823] Machowski 2007: 12.
[824] Dickinson 1983: 56–57.

the Mycenaean period, typically, shaft graves found are located in the Peloponnese as well as examples from Crete. Eaby and Dickinson believe Mainland prototypes inspired the Minoan examples.[825]

While pit cist and shaft graves are described with ambiguity, there are a few notable instances where the author of the archaeological reports is unable to distinguish between a cist tomb and a shaft tomb, such as at Oropos in Attica or Tsikalario on Naxos (mainly due to the limited nature of the actual excavation or the state of the burial feature in the archaeological record). Given the prevalence of Cists, this thesis has also labelled them as such, but the ambiguity is worth noting. In addition, the more regularly shaped rectangular pits are often referred to as shafts. In contrast, in other contexts, the terms 'pit' and 'little shaft' refer to the same tomb type, only applied to softer and harder terrain.[826] True shaft graves are rare in the EIA Euboean Gulf (see *Table 24*). However, they are quite prevalent in Athens, which shows how the burial trends of the areas are fragmented, and there is little cohesion between micro-regions.

8.11.2 Sarcophagi Burials

Burial in a Sarcophagus was uncommon, and there are only a few examples from Greece overall for this period. In the regions explored, there are only two locations where the use of Sarcophagi is seen (see *Table 25*). These sites were both in East Locris (Fig. 71) and span from the end of the PG period to the beginning of the archaic period, whilst the other site was in Magnesia further north. The sarcophagi used in this

[825] Eaby 2007: 312; Dickinson 1983: 56-57.
[826] Snodgrass 2000: 142; Eaby 2007: 306.

period are not uniform; at Bodovatsa, they are oval-shaped, whilst at Tragana, they are rectangular, with rounded sides and constructed of limestone.

In East Locris, a sarcophagus usually denotes an elite burial, judging by the burial goods and symbols of power included in the funerary paraphernalia, although Dakoronia does not agree with signs of wealth denoting elite status (see section 6.2).[827] The only other regions on mainland Greece that used Sarcophagi in their mortuary architecture during this period are Megara (26 L. Katsoni Str. - Ch. Pantazi plot) and Corinth (North Cemetery and Panayia Field – Forum), where they were especially prevalent during the Geometric period.

8.12 Burial Goods

In a typical EIA funerary context, single graves included one to four vessels accompanying the deceased.[828] Given the ubiquity of the cist and pit tomb through most regions examined (see *Sections 8.3 & 8.5*) it can be hypothesised that substantial amounts of pottery were avoided due to the challenge of fitting them into the limited space offered, including smaller single burials with offerings. Moreso, given the economic condition of the EIA and the ubiquity of pottery found in archaeological contexts from burials, sanctuaries and settlements, Fineware pottery was a valuable commodity used for trade. Therefore the avoidance of providing large amounts of pottery, or the use of coarse ware pottery is not a space consideration but is a wealth consideration. In wealthier graves, a larger number of ceramic vessels were generally present (both coarse and fine), and cist tombs, particularly in places like the Kerameikos in A, occasionally featured an additional compartment for storing grave

[827] Dakoronia 2006: 500.
[828] Dickinson 2006: 185.

goods. These additional items might include not just pottery but also weapons, clothing fasteners, and various forms of jewellery, such as rings and heirlooms.

The other categories of burial goods remained broadly consistent. After the relative austerity of the SM period, during the PG period, more expensive items such as jewellery, weapons and high-quality pottery became more frequent.[829] Weapons once again appeared amongst grave goods, aiding in gender differentiation. A similar pattern was observed in the increased use of dress fasteners, such as arched fibulae and long iron pins, which were more frequently found on female bodies and were essential for women's attire.[830] Iron was frequently employed as a metal, though the selection of metal goods and fasteners saw only a minor increase. Exotic and imported goods, gold and other precious stones were found in extraordinarily wealthy regions with ongoing trade networks, such as coastal Athens (*Chapter 2*), Euboea (particularly the Toumba building and cemetery in Lefkandi, and West Gate Cemetery in Eretria – see *Sections 3.2 to 3.3.2*), and Atalante (*Section 6.2*). These items did not represent the overall situation.[831]

The significance of objects not exclusively tied to funerary rituals remains unclear.[832] When attempting a post-processual interpretation of burial goods, viewing them as expressions of social identity becomes crucial. According to this theory, burials should include items considered acceptable to society and appropriate for the deceased person's social class.[833] This viewpoint is also related to the observation that, with the adoption of single burials, the reputation of the tomb owner came from

[829] Mureddu 2016: 84-85.
[830] Lewartowski 2000: 50.
[831] Dickinson 2006: 185.
[832] Ibid., 177.
[833] Ibid., 178.

its contents rather than its outward grandeur.[834] Following this the emergence of more prominent single burials, often wealthier, may reflect a reminiscent of the Mycenaean assertion of social superiority, changing in the 8th century when burials types signify elite in-groups and social stratification.[835] It is also possible that changing burial practices not only relate to social status but also adapting societal norms influenced by other forces such as a change in religious practices or the emergence of a religious institutions such as cults and Temples.

Lewartowski suggests that the variety and inconsistent nature of objects found in tombs indicate a separation from the sacred as if they were not intended to help the interred in the afterlife.[836] Mureddu supports this view, claiming that the objects buried were mundane and should not be considered as having quasi-religious significance but rather a ceremonial connotation.[837] However, to challenge Lewartowski and Mureddu's perspectives, one must adopt a more balanced view of functionalism and symbolism. While it might be tempting to argue that typical grave goods were purely decorative or inserted for social trends, mnemonic purposes, or aesthetics, this view is invalidated by the continued prevalence of this practice across most regions during the EIA. Moreover, the socio-economic status of the deceased must be considered since the uniform display of goods varies according to the deceased's wealth level. Exceptional goods must be contextualized, and their meaning remains subjective, being relevant only to the kinship group who organised the burial. Uniform goods, such as coarse drinking utensils, are not related to wealth levels but rather reflect expectations for the afterlife, which will be investigated in more detail in *Chapter 9*.

[834] Mureddu 2016: 83.
[835] Dickinson 2006: 181.
[836] Lewartowski 2000: 50.
[837] Mureddu 2016: 83.

8.13 The usefulness of chronological trends

There is no discernible pattern in the use of any type of tombs; the closest option is to look at the type of internment (that is, Inhumation vs. Cremation), where there is a slight correlation between the use of cremation and the more common use of inhumation. Cist and Pits are ubiquitously seen throughout all chronological subdivisions in Central Greece. For the regions examined, each thesis chapter has given a good breakdown of any local chronological trends. However, rather than repeat these sections here, a summary correlating all areas will present an overall trend if applicable. The further categorisation can be broken down into three categories: those areas where Cremation burials are found to predominate, those areas where inhumation predominates, and those areas where the evidence is inconclusive. Other interpretations have been fronted in place of complex data. Whilst this may be a simple premise, it is more nuanced than stated as the more data that has been collected sees both inhumation and cremations present in areas simultaneously. Although the data is incomplete, the sample sizes are enough to make assumptions for a comparative analysis.

There is no clear trend regarding cremation as a technique of interment (*Table 26*). This type of internment predominates at a small number of locations throughout the EIA over sporadic periods, and its use can be seen as making a social statement (see *Sections 8.9 & 9.6*) more than others. It is predominant in PG-EG& LG/EA Athens, MG & LG Eretria, and LGIIa Paros. In contrast to cremations, frequently employed as a statement of extraordinary burial, inhumation is prevalent in all regions surveyed during both the PG and Geometric periods and is seen as being utilised ubiquitously. Additionally, there are places where it is impossible to tell whether inhumation burials or cremations occurred, such as the Palia Perivolia and Toumba cemetery in Lefkandi,

with a hybrid burial suggested (*see Section 3.2*). However, this has been limited to just this settlement in the regions analysed and only practised during the PG period.

8.14 Attic Burials compared to the Euboean Gulf and connected areas

As the previous sections in this chapter have demonstrated, there is no predominant burial method for the regions examined, and specific burial methods are marginally more popular than others, but burial trends are fragmented. Compared to burials in central Athens, where burial trends are more consistent, tombs outside this region are varied and dynamic. *Table 18* shows the presence of Tholos Tombs throughout this period and the use of Cist, Shaft, and Pit (labelled as trench burials). Unlike the rest of the settlements and regions examined, the burials in Athens have been extensively recorded more than any other region for this period. Still, some gaps show how much this data needs to be in constant review. Cremation and Inhumation-type burials are at different times popular in Athens (see *Section 2.2*), with shaft and pit graves dominating the burial trends.

Recently, Rönnberg has reinterpreted the evidence for burials in EIA Athens, critiquing Morris' model that only a privileged group received formal burial.[838] While there were fewer tombs during the PG period in Athens than the level attained by the middle of the 8th century due to the varied rates of recovery, Rönnberg examines the data and hypothesises that changes in preferences for particular sites led to changes in the number and type of burial found.[839] Consequently, what was construed as formal burial is the product of a longer process of socio-political transformation, which is organic rather than a representation of an organising *polis* state culminating in the

[838] Rönnberg 2019; Morris 1987: 93–95. 104, 206 f.; Morris 1995: 53, 61-74.
[839] Rönnberg 2019: 147-148.

Classical model. The number of burials increased over time, becoming more evident archaeologically, starting in the MG period and peaking in the Archaic period with the appearance of semi-rural cemeteries. This is then later incorporated into the ideology of citizenship and elite social practices retrospectively, with the later analysis of this used by scholars when interpreting the burial patterns for Athens.

Similar to Athens, the burial plots around the Euboean Gulf fit into three categories: i) organised cemeteries such as those found in major settlements such as Lefkandi, Thebes, Halos, Velestino (Pherae), Eretria, Volos, as well as the Kerameikos cemetery and the Dipylon cemetery in Athens; ii) periphery burials located at dispersed settlement zones - which given the decentralised and sporadic layout of settlement patterns throughout the EIA accounts for the majority of sites that have been studied; iii) Burials in settlement contexts which account for intramural of infants and adolescents in domestic setting, as well as those adult burials found nearby or inside a dwelling – the most prevalent example are the burials at Oropos, Athens (Agora Well burial, and Geometric oval building), and Lefkandi (Tumulus Building), although it is hard to distinguish in the stratigraphy whether the building was erected over the grave or *vice-versa*.[840]

However, this categorisation does have an inherent quantitative bias in its analysis as the defining characteristics of each category are arbitrary and may differ according to the characterisation of the burials at different settlements. A large cemetery at a settlement such as Athens may differ in terms of the number of internments and character compared to the large cemetery at Volos in Magnesia. Also, the nature of the archaeological evidence for this period means that medium burial

[840] Ibid., 149.

sites in settlement zones may not have been completely excavated, continuing on neighbouring plots either not yet excavated or which may have been later destroyed. The number of graves found is directly affected by the location of the burial sites. Small grave plots are susceptible to destruction by later activities due to placement next to settlements and are less visible due to size. Large Cemeteries are less likely to be destroyed and are more archaeologically visible. Large cemeteries are remembered by the population who utilised them and contained elements of social memory from the participating settlement group. Elite burials were strategically placed at such site to convey a message regarding social status and was effective due to the interconnectedness of the population that utilised such sites. Burial in dispersed settlement zones relates to individual memory and usually relates to kin groups with no overall relation to the community at large.[841]

In contrast to the PG period, the Geometric period sees an increase in burial numbers. Snodgrass, writing about this increase [at Athens], rejects that this reflected an increase in population numbers, as this would show an unrealistic growth pattern that is not corroborated in the more extensive archaeological record.[842] Alexandridou links this variation to Kinship groups wanting greater representation in the larger necropolises (especially in LGII Athens).[843] This model, however, presupposes Morris' assumption that the growth in numbers is linked to a privileged group (a rise of the *aristoi*) eligible for formal burial (tied in to concepts of '*agathoi*' and '*kakoi*').[844] However, what is more likely is that variation in burial numbers relates to differing

[841] Ibid., 148-155.
[842] Snodgrass 2000: 10-16.
[843] Alexandridou 2016: 354-355.
[844] Morris 1987.

recovery rates in different regions, so the shifting preference for specific sites results in variation in the burial count.[845]

[845] Dickinson 2006: 176, Rönnberg 2019:149.

CHAPTER 9 - CONSTRUCTING A RITUAL NARRATIVE FOR THE PERIOD

In general, the examination of rituals focuses on theories about how society operates, with ritual analysis aiming to understand how actions interact with elements of religion, community and the supernatural. However, ritual attribution is frequently too broad, making it problematic to interpret or assign a singular rationale behind such actions. Throughout history various scholars have approached the study of rituals from different perspectives.[846] Jung, viewed rituals as one of the 'archetypal' themes of 'collective unconsciousness,' which resonates with individuals subconsciously, helping people connect with the broader human experience.[847] Whereas, Durkheim perceived ritual as a 'functional' tool used by social groups to express their unity and embody community emotional cohesion and social solidarity. Mourning in this context is seen as a collective rite, a group ritual, that has the potential to elevate consciousness in all who participate.[848] Similarly, Ratcliffe-Brown emphasised the social function of ritual action in building social structure and establishing shared values. Thus, rituals are not merely repetitive actions but contain deeper meanings, significantly shaping social dynamics.[849] Additionally, Geertz explored at how symbolic meanings are embedded in rituals, introducing the concept of ritual actions as 'cultural performances', which he saw as dramatic actions containing cultural ideas and information, intersecting contemporary ethics, taboos, time, and space.[850] From this broad overview, rituals have a pervasive influence on various aspects of social life, determining the pace of daily activities, religious festivals, relationships within a community, social interactions

[846] Wu 2018: 6.
[847] Jung 1964.
[848] Durkheim 1965; 1912 [2008] 276; de Maaker 2020: 17.
[849] Radcliffe-Brown 1965.
[850] Wu 2018:6 citing Gertz 1973.

such as commerce or marriage restrictions, and even significant life events like births, marriages, and death. As such, rituals are crucial links between different aspects of social existence from the political to social to religious.[851]

The term ‘ritual’ therefore has numerous definitions, and nearly every researcher utilises it uniquely. This poses a significant obstacle to conducting an insightful analysis of this category of action. Moreover, interpreting actions as 'ritual' has further limitations, as it is too easy to assign archaeological evidence as having a ritual context when little is understood about the overall purpose or rationale behind actions.[852] Kyriakidis argues that 'Ritual' should be understood as an etic category that refers to predetermined activities with a special (not-typical) intention specific to a particular group of individuals.[853] To make an accurate evaluation, indirect evidence and a contextual analysis must be undertaken, such as the arrangement of artefacts, context of finds, spatial awareness of surroundings and context of use to infer ritualistic elements. Ritual also cannot be even assumed that even all participants are conscious of the all aspects of the ritual they are enacting. Further to this, from a sociological perspective, a ritual is also an act of communication, creating shared messages, understanding and re-enforcing social norms. Such considerations mean that any interpretation is subjective and glamorised and might have a more mundane purpose than is understood. To balance the thesis’ interpretation of ritual action, a functionalist and symbolic analysis will be undertaken in relation to artefacts, burial types, and eschatological inference from near contemporary and later sources (this will be explored further in *Section 9.2* in a discussion of ritual interpretation of grave goods).

[851] Geertz 1973.
[852] Wu 2018: 5-7.
[853] Lett 1990: 127–9; Kyriakidis 2018: 302

Determining religious beliefs during the EIA is challenging due to the limited literary texts, epigraphic evidence, and unsophisticated archaeological finds in burials and religious sanctuaries. This chapter will examine the archaeological evidence for the regions examined to construct an interpretative framework for a ritual narrative or belief structure. The chapter will draw on Homer and Hesiod as cultural sources to utilise the nearest available literary texts for comparative reasons and to establish any ties to the archaeology that may explain the belief structures behind it. The depiction of burial practices in literary texts can be evaluated to see if it ties into the archaeological record, emphasising the rites and rituals derived from burial contexts. Literary texts can highlight some information, but the frame of reference is also limited as religion is not wholly uniform for this period, and there is also debate on whether the culture pictured in Homer is accurate for the EIA, with the overall opinion moving away from the trend of 'Homer as History'.[854] Nagy states that whilst the majority of the text of Homer dates to the 8th century and preceding centuries, some aspects of the tradition are later additions added during the codification of the narrative from oral poem to written text during the historical period. Sherratt also highlights how the culture described in Homer is an amalgamation of periods from the 16th century to the 8th century.[855] Hesiod is a slightly more reliable source but can also be problematic in his own right. Hesiod is a valuable tool for examining what information the EA Greeks thought about the religious and ritual of death where applicable. Whilst this is undoubtedly useful to some degree, it can also be somewhat limiting as between Hesiod and Homer, there are inconsistencies in their metaphysical analysis or belief structure of what happens after death, suggesting that there was no overall codification

[854] See n.5 and n.6.
[855] Nagy 1996: 42; Sherratt 1990: 817.

of beliefs. Hesiod is perhaps the more reliable author in contemporality, as he provides a glimpse of what little eschatological beliefs were present in the EA period in Boeotia and nearby Euboea (Chalcis). In contrast, the traditions in Homer are displaced, given the evolution of the orality of the poem to what is codified in later periods. Given the unreliability or limitations of textual evidence for this period, where a reference to Homer or Hesiod is made, this will look at how the identified eschatological beliefs interact with what is found in the archaeology, and inclusion will be for comparison only. Due to this, the chapter will mainly focus on features consistent in all or multiple regions, and this will give a framework for the active rites present at burials or ascertaining peri-rituals and ancestor veneration where applicable.

Without a detailed contemporary account, the only characteristics of rituals that are evident come from the burial debris; these are things that are purposely left or included in the debris, such as animal sacrifice, food offerings, liquid offerings, the evidence for ritual dining, as well as the depiction of burial processes on LG Attic ceramic vessels. What is unclear are those rituals related to the burial process but not apparent from the archaeology context. This can include things such as funeral games (as seen in Homer) or other shared activities for the mourners, like dirges, ritual dancing, or eulogies. These rites may have been connected to burials but are intangible in the archaeological record. Therefore, any hypothesis regarding burial rites must be approached cautiously, and this is also true of ritual features in the archaeology of the period, which should be viewed from a neutral position, as imaginative reconstructions are usually dismissed in favour of more evidence-based (and more often than not mundane) realities. Whilst the chapter will also be focusing on evidence for these events present at the burial sites, it will also be looking at broader evidence, including the depiction of burial rituals in art, as well as examining

the phenomenon of ancestor veneration, relevance of burial type as well as the significance of notable burials or objects found within the burial contexts discussed in previous chapters.

9.1 Depiction of ritual in art

It is clear that death (like birth and marriage) was marked by events and activities outside the physicality of the burial tomb, and the first basis for constructing a burial narrative is its depiction in art. Figurative art emerged during the Geometric period (Attic Middle to Late Geometric period), and whilst this thesis is looking at the entirety of the EIA period, what can be derived from pottery is a snapshot of the funerary process at the end of the period under consideration. The majority of *prothesis* and *ekphora* scenes come from Attic art. They can be considered directly linked to the region, with only nominal occurrences found outside (singular occurrences found in Boeotia and Paros). It is conjecture if neighbouring regions also had the same burial process, although more than likely, given the uniformity in types of grave goods found.

The main investigation into prothesis scenes was initially conducted by Ahlberg, who catalogued 50 artefacts, encompassing complete and restored ceramic vessels, as well as fragments. Ahlberg attributed these items to four influential painters, workshops, and groups in Attic Geometric ceramic manufacturing.[856] Perhaps more significantly however, is the work of Langdon, whose research seeks to provide a compelling interpretation of the role of geometric art in shaping gender and social identities, particularly focusing on both warriors and women (also see *Section 9.4*).[857]

[856] Ahlberg 1971: 214-219.
[857] Langdon 2008.

Langdon delves into an examination of how Geometric Art effectively conveyed societal concerns, especially during significant life transitions such as birth, marriage, and death. Her analysis incorporates concurrent research on rituals, sanctuaries, as well as Homeric scholarship. Langdon's approach utilises gender interplay, myth, art, and epic to explore the intricate interplay of these elements in the representation of social dynamics, but Homeric or Hesiodic interpretations do not dominate the discussion.[858]

The art of the period shows that burial rituals crucial part in burying the dead, expressing the contemporary ideological beliefs of the period (such as ritual mourning, singing, dancing, and games). Whilst the archaeological evidence is limited in highlighting such information, the process is likely to have included practices such as conceptual contact with the body of the deceased before burial (washing and or anointing the corpse with oil), contact with the cremated remains after burning (when placing the remains in a ceramic vessel), as well as ritual interaction with the tomb, or tomb markers above ground during and after the event (through formal offerings, food and libations).[859] Such practices can be derived from depictions of formal rituals from other viable sources, such as figurative scenes on vase painting (depicting scenes of *prothesis* and *ekphora* dating from the MG period and which included dancing[860] from the LG and PA) and from a controlled reading of Homeric poetry (which traditionally also dates to the 8th century). Homeric society is an amalgamation of different periods and different societies; however, as changes in death attitudes were slow during this period, it is likely that a stratified Homeric nexus corresponds to a large extent with 8th

[858] Langdon 2008:4-11, 35, 40-42, 58-62; 197-199, 244, 293-297; Aslan 2009:663-4.
[859] Beeby 2013: 4-5.
[860] Thomas 2015.

century attitudes.[861] Utilising all these sources, in general terms, the funerary ritual concentrates on the care of the deceased, the



Figure 89: Overview of a 'Prothesis' scene from an Attic Krater[862]

laying-out of the body (*prothesis*) for mourning (Fig. 89), the processional transportation of the body to the place of its deposition (*ekphora*), and lastly the burial of its cremated or inhumed remains along with its accoutrements.[863] This is a liminal state (*enthende ekeise*) with the dead passing through three stages – dying, being dead but uninterred and being dead and interred, with death being a process rather than an event.[864] Figurative scenes from Geometric pottery may help us interpret the archaeological evidence with a better understanding of the funerary process as well as the gendered roles and societal context depicted on the funerary scenes.[865]

[861] Sourvinou-Inwood 1983: 34.
[862] Hood 2014.
[863] Vlachou 2012: 364.
[864] Garland 1998: 14.
[865] Osbourne 2010:261

Decorative and pictorial motifs served to establish and maintain claims of status in early Greek communities, looking at class, ethnicity, as well as other factors such as ethnicity.[866] The following description does not attempt to delve into the various nuances in the motif of representation nor engage with academic disagreements; I offer a loose overview of the different stages in the burial ritual, with the process for burial put into general terms. The scenes depicted involved displaying the body.[867] This act offered the chance to purify the body with oils in preparation for other rites, as well as the performance of the ritual lament and acts of symbolic pollution appropriate to one's relationship to the deceased.[868] According to the pictorial representations, acts of lamentation and grief by both male and female mourners are a common occurrence, with this being a proscribed act of drama that may have involved women flinging themselves at the corpse, wailing and rendering their hair[869], allowing the mourners to communicate their anguish to the deceased and community at large.[870] Such representations serve as a form of cultural communication to reflect societal norms. They reinforce and perpetuate established gender roles and social ideologies. Langdon links this to the masculinization of the domestic space, and in this context, the women depicted in these scenes are rather acting in a manner which is expected of them given the context of the scene.[871]

After an appropriate period of seclusion, the kin group (usually immediate family) are joined by other friends and associates in wailing and lamenting, probably singing the *thrênos* and *góos* as per the respect due to honour the dead.[872] The body

[866] Langdon 2008:4
[867] Ahlberg 1971; de Souza & Dias 2018.
[868] Sourvinou-Inwood 1983:38.
[869] Langdon 2008:8; Shapiro 1991: 634-639; Houby-Nielsen 1996a: 236-243.
[870] Ahlberg 1971: 107.
[871] Langdon 2008:264.
[872] Sourvinou-Inwood 1983: 37-38; Ahlberg 1971: 106-7; Alexiou 2002: 103.

was cleansed, anointed with oil and perfume, covered in a shroud, and set out on the burial kline (funeral bier). Over the body, a lighter covering was also supplied. There is a constant separation of the roles of men and women depicted in vase representations, which matches the literary evidence, accentuating the role of women in caring for the body (Fig. 90).[873]



Figure 90: Lamenting Mourners in Late Geometric Art[874]

The handling of the deceased serves as a tangible manifestation of emerging hierarchies, wherein the consolidation of city-states like Athens, Thebes, and Eretria during the process of synoecism is intricately linked to the influence of political authority. Geometric art from this period, characterized by distinct patterns and motifs, offers a concentrated insight into these socio-political dynamics, acting as a transparent lens through which one can observe and analyse the interplay of power, societal organization, and cultural identity.[875] In the next stage, the *ekphora* took place, with the body carried from where it had been previously housed to its burial place. In

[873] Vlachou 2012: 365.
[874] Hood 2014.
[875] Langdon 2008:10

procession, family members and other mourners accompanied the dead to the grave (also depicted in contemporary vase scenes).

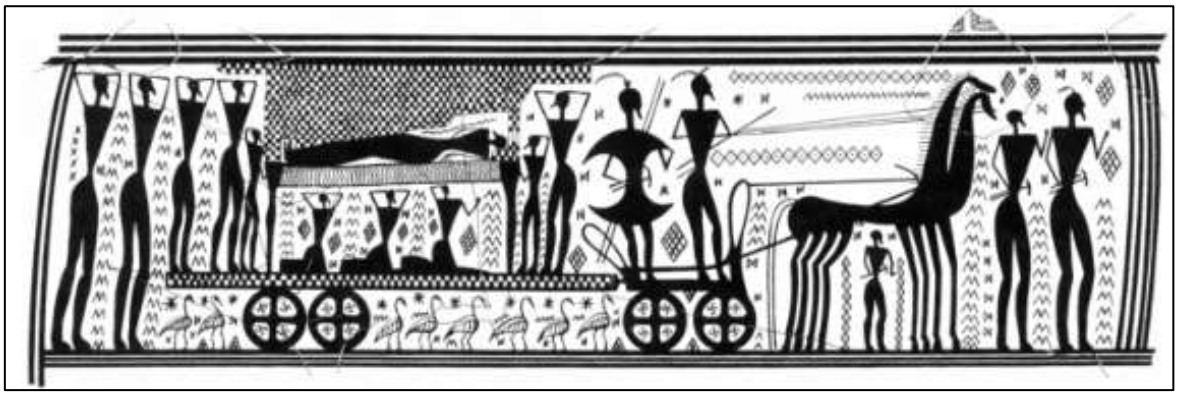


Figure 91: Reconstruction drawing of side A of Athens 803 by Thanassis Kouros[876]

However, it may be relevant to add a note of caution here, as it is uncertain if these scenes were either meant to refer to the *heroic* model described in the epics (itself an elaborate depiction of practices) or if the funeral procession (Fig. 91) was in reality so elaborate, which given the ideal concept sometimes depicted in art, it is uncertain which scenario is correctly enacted. Such scenes, whilst they draw attention to both the *prothesis* and *ekphora* and lament, curiously enough do not depict the act of burial itself, which is surprising given that the scenes depicted would ultimately culminate in this. From the scenes, many participants are depicted taking part in the different stages of the funerary ritual. Processions of chariots and warriors on the vessels are indications that elaborate funeral games took place and might be a stylistic device to add a Homeric element to the event.[877] The geometric motifs and patterns found in art from this period are not mere aesthetic choices; rather, they encode nuanced information about the prevailing social structures and hierarchical arrangements. By examining the funerary art of the Geometric period, one can discern the evolving power dynamics, social stratification, and the influence of political

[876] Moore 2007: 10.
[877] Morris 1987: 46-52; Sourvinou-Inwood 1983: 1.

authorities in shaping the collective identity of these ancient communities.[878] Whether scenes depict real life or parallels, an idealised version is uncertain as little evidence supports this activity during this period. Summarizing the gender dynamics in EIA Greece as a simple dichotomy of *'victimized women and domineering men'* is an oversimplification, given the intricate complexities involved. The concept of gender dynamics in this context is consistently negotiated, but it is evident that life in EIA Greece was centred around the well-being and perpetuity of the family unit.[879] Such Homeric interpretations have their critics; Boardman states that *'no Attic Geometric artist ever read or heard recited a single line of Homer*'.[880] What is clear is that transitional occasions (birth marriage and death) had a competitive element and that these created social hierarchies that took tangible iconographic form.[881]

The final stage is the act of disposal, in most cases, during the Attic EIA, cremation was the dominant practice. This would have been done close to where the remains of the deceased were to be buried. Cremations can be classified as 'compound burials' as the deceased is cremated and interred.[882] Those involved with this process would both visually and physically interact with the process just by sense, that is, those present would have seen the drastic change in the state of the body and would have interacted with the decomposition by sight, smell and sound, as well as later when by necessity the ashes and fragments of bones were collected and interred in a ceramic vessel. This would have been a significant undertaking, not only in time and energy but also in resources, given the amount of combustible material it can take to create and sustain a temperature hot enough to decimate a human body into ash,

[878] Langdon 2008:35
[879] Langdon 2008:297
[880] Boardman 1983: 29.
[881] Langdon 2008:294
[882] Sprague 2005: 28.

especially when burials occurred close to settlements. In addition, the cremation pyre would have been a visual sight in the local landscape, and the community around the burial site would likely have been aware of the ceremony (if not a part of it). This would be different when applied to strict inhumation burials, suggesting that these may have been private occasions or more exclusive or conservative in their design (see *Section 2.2*).

9.2 Ritual drinking and feasts

While material evidence related to eating and drinking can suggest the occurrence of feasting, a careful analysis is essential to determine whether these remnants result from formal and different ritual acts.[883] Notably, the presence of numerous libation vessels in graves underscores the importance of funeral rites. Libations, offered as offerings to the deceased, are evident from the discovery of drinking vessels in the majority of burials from this period. Additionally, some burial sites yield evidence of burnt sacrifices, including animal bones found amidst the charred deposits (including evidence of a canine sacrifice in Athens burial I 18: 3, and horse sacrifices in the Lefkandi *heroön*), both above and inside the graves. This emphasises that these rituals took place while the graves were still open, and sacrifices may indicate a purification element. Nevertheless, it is essential to note that such sacrifices are relatively rare during this period, raising doubts about their significance.[884]

Within this category, broken pottery is a common feature in graves. Traditionally, scholars examining the EIA have often overlooked the phenomenon of

[883] Christakopoulou 2018: 3.
[884] Smithson 1974: 334, 362.

ritual object breaking. However, after studying contexts from both the Protogeometric and Geometric periods, it becomes evident that this practice is widespread in burials across Greece, the Aegean Islands, and Pithekoussai.[885] Ritual dining played a crucial role in funeral customs, serving as a commemorative meal and an offering to the deceased. This is supported by the discovery of storage vessels and dining remnants left in grave contexts and corroborating depictions in Homer, indicating that the occasion for feasting was closely tied to funerals.[886] There is little evidence in EIA society for a formal priestly caste or a centralised authority structure, and consequently, it seems that the social structure was loosely uniform. Therefore, its rituals of consumption are examples of commensality, rituals of eating and drinking with equals, and as an expression and reinforcement of community values.[887] Tasks were designated based on social status, and there was a structured order in performing funeral rituals, with cremation symbolising the journey of the deceased. It is worth noting that equality prevailed during these feasts, ensuring that no one lacked their portion. The offerings during this time encompassed a wide range, including food, drink, jewellery, weapons, and pottery.[888] There is also evidence from Hesiod and Homer of funerary games taking place in honour of the deceased as well.[889] Following the internment of the deceased, a banquet known as the *perideipnon* typically occurred, possibly at the graveside as suggested by consistent utensils found, such as ceramic debris, although some dispute this stating that the living may have been

[885] Kurtz and Boardman 1971.
[886] Ibid., 60.
[887] Murray 1999: 5.
[888] Ahlberg 1971: 211-212.
[889] Il.23.1-65; Craven 2007: 18.

debarred from feasting due to pollution by the dead.[890] Over time, this practice shifted to the house of the deceased's next of kin during the Archaic Period.[891]



Figure 92: Stamna, Monumental apsidal tomb with libation bench[892]

While detailed information about the burial practices of non-elites is lacking, adherence to rituals in a specific sequence was essential to avoid sacrilege. Evidence from later writers shows that these rituals often involved three customary commemorative rituals on the 3rd, 9th, and 13th days (called *trita, enata and triakostia,* respectively)[893], following the individual's death, rituals revolved around feeding the deceased, making a drink offering (libation) to the gods, and adorning the stele. The second ritual frequently entailed the utilisation of lekythoi and white vessels used for offering oil in sacrifices.[894] The best presentation of feasting and libations can be found

[890] Farnell 1921 cited in Garland 1988: 39, 110-12.
[891] Dem. *Or*. 18,288.
[892] Christakopoulou 2018: 5.
[893] Ibid., 39, 40.
[894] Kierdorf 2006; Sehlmeyer 2013; Dem.Or. 18,288; Men.Aspis 233; Men.Fr. 309.

at Stamna in Western Greece (Fig. 92). At this site, funeral meals were prepared on-site alongside pyres, accompanied by the placement of pouring and drinking vessels. A select number of ritual vessels, often simple and evocative, were used, with some featuring cuts in the base indicating their purpose (as found at Athens). Personal possessions, articles of daily use, and armour were laid in graves or offered to cover pyres, aligning with practices observed in central Greece. These findings highlight the importance placed on treating the body and soul equally and the celebration of festival occasions akin to those in the deceased's lifetime, as well as the utilisation of burial household items to signify their past functionality.[895]

Wecowski draws a link between the rise of the Symposium during the Archaic period and the ritual dining and drinking practices of the Geometric period. He cites ceramic vessels found at sites like Lefkandi (from the Protogeometric period) and Pithekoussai (from the Geometric period) as evidence.[896] Wecowski examines the presence of sympotic patterns in burial goods in grave contexts and concludes that the rites and customs of burials, compared to later symposiums, remained consistent in terms of the usage of utensils and ceramic vessels. This suggests the longevity of the symposium tradition, with the social aspects of burials mirroring drinking situations, although this connection remains somewhat tenuous until later periods where a connection is more tangible, as evident from the so-called '*Totenmahl'* votive reliefs (from the 6th century onwards) connected to funerary customs, showing the 'venerated' dead 'reclining' at sympotic banquets.[897]

[895] Christakopoulou 2018: 4.
[896] Wecowski 2014: 139.
[897] Murray 2018: 218-219, 223; Garland 1988: 70, 71; verified by Plato.*Rep.*363d.

Pottery vessels played several roles in the burial process. Firstly, they served functional purposes, including acting as container vessels for transporting items to the burial site and later being buried as dining debris. Domestic wares such as cups, pitchers, mixing vessels, plates, and bowls, functioned as dining utensils during feasting. Even in the most basic burials, one typically finds at least one jug or pitcher and one cup. Secondly, some vessels had ritual significance, being used as offerings to be consumed by the funeral pyre, or as containers for food meant to be buried with the deceased, often left intact. Lastly, certain vessels served dual ritualistic and functional purposes, like graveside libation vessels, which acted as receptacles for post-funerary libations and offerings to the dead while also serving as grave monuments, as seen in the Kerameikos in Athens.

The offerings presented to the deceased are also a sociological device used by the deceased's family as a visible expression of high status and ties into the process of competition emulation, which characterised elite society at this time. The corpse once interred is now effectively frozen in time; closing the tomb is the final separation and a signal to the community that life can return to normality.[898] The act of burial overall expresses status, prestige, and wealth. The wealth presented to the deceased can be seen as a transference payment, to enable the transfer of property, role and rank.[899]

There is some speculation that for those burials where cremation was involved, the amber of the pyres was extinguished by the pouring of libations over the funeral pyre, and this may be why copious amounts of both broken and intact vessels are found throughout the examined areas of Greece, Aegean, and Ischia.[900] Using an

[898] Sourvinou-Inwood 1983: 40.
[899] Cavanagh & Mee 1998: 104
[900] Ridgway 1992: 49.

example from Homer, Giorgio Buchner explored how quenched flames with wine related to Homeric burial practices in the excavation of Pithekoussai.[901]

Dining during this period served an important sociological function and is seen in contexts other than funerary. The act of ritual dining had a socio-political framework in which social relationships within the community and competing emulation with other elites helped cement the coherence of settlement life (both domestic and inter-communal). However, when comparing communal dining in a funerary context to sanctuary dining, caution must be exercised as both traditions have religious connotations, with private versus public dining having different sociological aims.[902] Public dining may have been used to solidify influence over the people and interpreted as a display of status and wealth to other elites as well as an event to promote community togetherness, as social cohesion can be maintained with a shared dining experience.[903] Ritual dining in a funerary setting would have been a common practice, with those involved being close to the deceased's family. Private dining had similar aims but was more an internal projection of social status to parties involved in the burial ritual rather than a tool for social cohesion. The archaeological record credits some form of ritual meal with the discovery of feasting equipment, including a large number of ceramic sherds of various drinking, storage, and mixing vessels (see *Table 27*). Symbolically, it can be speculated that these were offerings, perhaps to accompany the deceased to the underworld; however, functionally, given the distance where burial sites occurred on the periphery of a settlement or in a remote setting if a graveside feast occurred, it may have been expedient to leave the dining utensils behind with the burial, also utilising the burial space as a refuse pit. Some of these

[901] *Il. 23.237-238*.
[902] Sjögren 2003: 9-10.
[903] Fox 2012: 67.

practices have persevered to the relatively modern-day as there are still traditions of breaking earthenware vessels at the graveside and also along the route taken by the funeral procession, as well as outside the deceased person's home, still practised on the Greek mainland, the Aegean Islands, and Rhodes.[904]

Given this commonality of ceramic vessels in burial contexts, the variation of quantity and types is linked to status, symbolism and expressions of wealth. Can an analysis of pottery types used indicate social change? Using anthropological examples, Goody states that death represents a shift in status and that the burial context is mediated and distorted by the interests and ideology of contemporary society.[905] Following this, Tainter and his theory on energy expenditure attempts to find a constant factor in which societal change is measured. He attempts to measure, quantifiably, that a structural variable is established by the expenditure of energy on the deceased.[906] This model has also been rejected, with scholars such as Whitley advising that energy expenditure can be archaeologically invisible in burial contexts (using the hypothesis of the funeral feast), so this cannot be used as a universal social marker.[907]

Given the importance of libations and ritual feasting, it is interesting to note that there is also a tenuous link between Hades and Dionysos in later religious festivals, as there is a chthonic component to the Dionysian festival of the *Anthesteria* in Athens, which involved opening storage vessels contained with wine and other drinks for human consumption.[908] Mureddu connects the *pithoi*, which gave the first day its name (*Pithoigia* - jar opening), and the practice of *enchytrismos* (see *Section 8.4, 9.5*),

[904] Grinsell 1961: 475-491.
[905] Goody 1959: 134-138.
[906] Tainter 1978: 105-141.
[907] Mureddu 2016: 183-184.
[908] Parker 2005: 296.

although his hypothesis is unconvincing as it is based on the different facets of use for storage vessels only.[909] Subsequently, Mureddu also evaluates the festival in terms of Greek eschatological elements, stating that wine may have acted as a divine underworld liquid that emerged from graves and polluted the living until it was purified via the proper rites. However, this follows a similar hypothesis by Farnell and is not credible.[910] What is certain is that it was believed that on the second day of the festival (*Choai*), the souls of the dead were free to wander the city streets. To avoid their defilement, the temples stayed closed, and residents chewed blackthorn as a deterrent to ghosts and anointed their home doors with pitch. Another Chthonian figure, Hermes *Psychopompos*, guided the spirits back to their realm on the third day. Ritual feasting with *Panspermia*, a soup made from all the available pulses, was prepared for Hermes to serve to the deceased as they prepared to descend into the underworld – showing a parallel with ritual feasting as a burial ritual.[911] Even in Homer, wine has an influence on underworld residents, with Odysseus administering a mixed wine beverage to get the dead to be receptive to his questioning.[912] Wine in EIA burials, therefore, may have had an eschatological purpose.

Whilst Hades is undisputedly the deity responsible for the underworld during the LG period, as attested in Hesiod and Homer[913] given that there is a Dionysian connection to the Orphic mystery cults (first seen in the 6th century), there is some connection between Hades and Dionysus.[914] Both share the same epithet of *Euboulos*, suggesting some equivalence, especially from later Greek religions when

[909] Murredu 2016: 188 quotes this interpretation as Harrison 1991: 47, although no such statement was made upon checking this reference.
[910] Murredu 2016: 184; Whitley 2003: 28, 29; Farnell 1921.
[911] Mureddu 2016: 187-8.
[912] *Od*.10.515-20, 11.25-30.
[913] Hes.*Th.*767; Hom.*Il.* 9.159.
[914] Kirk *et* al. 1983: 37.

both were identified with the figure of Zagreus.[915] Further to this, Dionysus was known as *Lord of Souls.*[916] Hades is missing from the pantheon of Mycenaean gods, whereas Dionysus' origins can be found in the Linear B Tables list, where offerings to Di-wo-nu-so-jo are listed at Pylos.[917] Also, in the Orphic religion – Dionysus is a darker Chthonic figure with some authority in the underworld, highlighting his authority, suggesting that there may be an older tradition of Dionysus being primarily a Chthonic deity whose authority was later subsumed by the figure of Hades, but still retained his connection as a chthonic authority and to ritual drinking.

9.3 Ancestor Veneration

Both hero cult and ancestor veneration had considerable cross-over during this period; however, the best approach to examining these phenomena during the geometric period is to follow the definition given by Price, which states that a hero cult (in comparison to an ancestor cult) comprises of ceremonies which are continuously repeated over a prolonged period of your time, whilst the cult of ancestors involves immediate burial rites and ceremonies after interment.[918] Veneration of the dead, both recent and long deceased, is an ambiguous area of study within the EIA, and lots of scholars have tried to simplify the topic by splitting it into themes such as tomb cults, cults of eponymous heroes (from epic and legendary cycles), and cults in honour of the recent deceased.[919] A lack of a standard ritual norm requires a more thorough and contextual examination. Antonaccio shows that the evidence is multifaceted and

[915] Meyer 1999: 102.
[916] Burnet 1920: 141 [Heraclitus, Frag. 15], Harrison 1991: 34.
[917] Ventris & Chadwick 1956: 127 [Pylos Fragment Xa06]; Palaima 1998.
[918] Price 1973: 143.
[919] such as Antonaccio 1994, 1995; Whitley 2011: 54.

cannot be determined by archaeology alone.[920] Beliefs are shown to be uncodified and cannot be extracted by votive offerings or grave goods alone. Re-examining field records, plans, and the diaries of the excavators reveal that in some instances (such as the cult south of Grave Circle B in Mycenae), subsequent disturbances and the naturally occurring deposition of colluvial debris in the fill of collapsed tombs were mistakenly identified as emblems of worship.[921]

Hero Cult, as a social trend, are mainly contemporary with the rise of the city-state, usually occurring from the late 8th century onwards, and are a religious reaction to political and social change. However, their permanence was not cemented within the religious zeitgeist until the Archaic and later Classical periods.[922] Even if such a link existed, there is no reason why the oral tradition found in Homer should have inspired such funerals because their description of burial rituals is mainly inconsistent with what is found in the archaeological record. Scholars have explored a correlation between the portrayal of LBA, EIA and Archaic burials with the depiction of Homeric funeral rituals (*Iliad* book 23), looking for signs of a continuous tangible tradition of attributed posthumous rituals after internment.[923] Such an investigation is ultimately flawed since no one overall tradition dominated the EIA, and burial trends on a micro-regional level differ, as does the consistency of depictions in Homer through the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey.* Therefore both tomb cult and hero cult need to be separated in the analysis, so as to not conflate the category and confuse the data.

Tomb cult is distinguished from hero-cults within the EIA through the reuse of Mycenaean and near-contemporary tombs. A vital factor in the pre-eminence of those

[920] Antonaccio 1994: 245-268.
[921] Contursi 2019 citing Konstantinidi, Syvridi & Paschalidis 2009: 289-328; Contursi 2013: 289-307.
[922] Ekroth 2007: 103.
[923] Sherratt 1990; Raaflaub 2006; *Il.23.108-261,* Antonaccio 1995: 226.

tombs is their large size, as this represents the prestige that was retrospectively held for the tomb's occupants, in which living families' association with the long-dead and the past were tools to reflect their perceived position within the community.[924] Ancestors played critical roles in forming society, the rights to resources, and developing and institutionalising social inequalities. Ancestors defined social group membership by descent and were linked to a specific location via the development of a 'genealogy of place'.[925]

As living ancestors, elites maintain their social and cosmological positions by representing themselves as part of the universe's permanent order. Ancestors are powerful social, economic, and cosmological agents who legitimise hierarchy and connect lineages to resources.[926] These items represent access to origins, and their accumulation increases the palpability of living 'ancestorness'.[927] In the context of the EIA, the abandonment of communal tombs in the LBA signalled a shift in society's relationship with the dead. By the Geometric period, those purporting to be descendants of the inhabitants of such tombs probably valued burial rituals over ongoing veneration. Visible tomb cults date to 950 (Lefkandi), but during the LG period, they were redefined and used as a power source in new ways (see Eretria, Athens, Oropos).[928] However, a more cynical view of this is upheld by Whitley, who contends that ancestors had become the default explanation for a variety of phenomena without adequate consideration of alternatives.

[924] Pedley 2005: 34-35; Dickinson 2006: 234.
[925] McAnany 1995: 99, 84-86, 91-96.
[926] Hill & Hageman 2016: 48-49.
[927] Helms 1998: 164–166.
[928] Morris 1998:750.

'There are too many ancestors in contemporary archaeological interpretation, and they are being asked to do too much.' [929]

Whitley casually dismisses the importance of ancestors, which the evidence shows is significant for burial trends and attitudes for the period. Recent anthropological research has also offered a more expansive view of ancestors, including more nuanced interpretations that consider factors like age, sex, and gender, as well as relative rank within a lineage. Ancestors are typically represented in new, hybrid ways, and it has been proven that they are frequently used to express strong ideas on social dynamics within the community. Some key elements emerge when defining ancestors and tracing their history in anthropology, whether centred on a single household or embracing a whole ethnic community; ancestor veneration is about power—whether social, political, religious, or economic. Ancestors, usually the older members of the social group, serve to strengthen status and power. People other than elders or families with significant power can also influence ancestors. Taking care of and feeding one's ancestors provides a platform to compel them. Elites with complete lineages compete, plan, and negotiate through the lens of their ancestors. Questions of descent, inheritance, property, and resource access directly involve ancestors. Ancestors are an essential part of an individual's, as well as a group's identity, with reference to household, family, *genos or* lineage, age, and sex. Within civilisations and across multiple cultures, ancestors are revered on various scales (such as the personal, ancestors in the home, and lineage), and their habitual maintenance and propensity to do so affects the minutia of material culture and one's power basis. The

[929] Whitley 2002:119.

origins, genealogies, and memories of kin groups are stored and accessed through ancestors.[930]

The grave goods buried inside such tombs can help determine the ritual context, with the information gathered by examining the grave goods' state (e.g., broken, burned, scattered, or intact) and by determining whether there is any indication of associative ritual action, such as the presence of carbon debris or ash to indicate burning.[931] What complicates this is determining if the goods found are primary and included in the burial or were secondary finds and indicate activity after burial. Whilst the tomb would have likely had a symbolic and iconographic purpose, which is now lost, there is little question that the claiming of Mycenaean tombs did have an ideological goal that feeds into the rivalry of opposing elites, who may have used a similar technique of claiming ancestry from the inhabitants as a link to the past with authority established through tradition or pedigree (seen through families such as Neleides, Heraclidae, and Alcmaeonidae claiming descent from notable mythological figures).[932] This connection to the past could be a mnemonic device to transmit the legitimisation of status, authority, as well as identity.[933] The simplest example of an ancestor cult is inside the Grotta on Naxos cemetery, where excavations have revealed burnt layers and pottery, including jugs possibly used for libations, together with grave installations with stone-paved areas for ritual feasting.

Generally, the later material found in Mycenaean tombs included the offering of pottery and sometimes small bronzes and figurines, together with the suggestion that ritual dining occurred at the tombs.[934] Again, Whitley suggests that academic

[930] Hill & Hageman 2016:30-32.
[931] Antonaccio 1995:248-9.
[932] Antonaccio 1994:403.
[933] Alcock 2003:7-8.
[934] Fox 2012:86.

interpretation should be more sensitive to metaphor when interpreting tombs and their functions and that care must be taken not to interpret everything regarding power stratification and social negotiation. However, Whitley does not take seriously the consideration that in a face-to-face (honour-bound) society, the projection of social status is a critical factor and of high importance and that burials are conveyers of social as well as symbolic significance intertwined with issues of power and prestige.[935] The importance placed on ancestors is seen within the enclosures and grouping of graves in some EIA cemeteries. The phenomenon of utilising Mycenaean graves indicates that the past epoch still directly influenced society in the EIA, one example being the burial cists at Lake Paralimni, which were directly built on earlier Mycenaean cists (although they were smaller and poorer, reflecting the economic circumstances of the contemporary period). However, evidence from the analysis of burial patterns can undermine the study of ancestor cults, as one cemetery might see centuries of use,

[935] Whitley 2011:60.



Figure 93: Paralimni, Cist grave[936]

with graves and tombs continually covered or cut across. Single burials and cremations were generally the standard practice after the LBA, with graves put in an enclosure to be protected against approaching or expanding settlements within the LG. Linked to ancestor veneration is the ritual use of burial spaces either in the form of buildings where the dead were venerated, the reuse of existing domestic buildings (not counting the burial of children in private spheres), or burial sites where a Tumulus', or burial mounds erected to house multiple burials are found, along with associated structures or grave markers (see *Table 29*). Ostentatious burials, often interpreted as *Heroön* or Chthonic banqueting halls, are mainly found in Attica and Euboea, the most famous being the Toumba Building at Lefkandi (SPG). Other 'buildings' for these

[936] Michaud 1972:706, Fig. 279.

regions include the oval building at Athens (EG/MG), the so-called '*Heroön'* linked to Tomb 6 at West Gate in Eretria (LG), the edifice at Herakleidon Street in central Athens (LG-EA), and the oval building at Oropos (LG). Furthermore, there are other buildings that are related to burials dotted throughout Greece (see *Table 28*). Tumulus barrows housed multiple burials, used for successive generations by the same community or, more likely, the same family group. A Tumulus was an elaborate composite in the local landscape and denoted the graves buried within and is often interpreted as a sema to mark the graves within. The most elaborate Tumulus for this period was erected over the Toumba building, which saw the rich burial of two local elites. Whilst this burial dates to the PG period, other Tumuli dated to the Geometric period also housed elaborate burials, including both warrior burials and rich female burials (see burial at Paralimni Lake – Fig. 93).At Vranesi, the Tumulus recorded a stone cairn similar to the stone cairn in Anavra at the cemetery of Ag. Dimitrios can be interpreted as a stone altar, although this is difficult to corroborate. Also located in the funerary landscape are Tholos Tombs and Chamber tombs, some reused from the Mycenaean Period, linking the EIA to the previous archaeological epoch (see *Table 29*).

9.4 Gender, Wealth, and Weapons

Cognitive archaeology examines how cosmological principles or religious concepts (including eschatological) are materially enacted or communicated through ritual. Ethnographic and anthropological research attempts to address the material implications of ritual symbolism, but few strictly follow a structural or practice-orientated approach to the archaeology of ritual. Conventionally, ostentatious male burials during the EIA focus on the primary presentation of weapons, and scholarship tends to identify the occupants as 'warriors,' concluding that this was the label they

self-identified as, given the martial nature of the grave goods. [937] This connection between cognitive archaeology and the interpretation of ostentatious male burials is particularly relevant when considering how the material aspects of these burials, including weaponry and associated symbolism, may reflect not only the martial aspects of the individuals but also their cognitive and ritual expressions within their cultural context. It underscores the importance of understanding the multifaceted nature of archaeological evidence and how it can shed light on ancient societies' beliefs, identities, and practices beyond simplistic labels like 'warriors'.[938] When there is a focus on burial goods as indicators of self-identifying markers, the conclusions drawn become ideological claims regarding status, hierarchy, authority, and gender. They may not reflect the complexity of identity for males in this period of history. All able-bodied men were considered warriors by larger society, but in practice, their identity should not be viewed how the settlement sees them. As seen by the inclusion of personal goods in the grave, death is personal, and in such cases, it relates to both the identity of the deceased and the family's overall status. The interpretation of the grave context should be kept unrestricted so that academic focus can concentrate on the type of artefacts found.[939] When labelled as a warrior, this term serves an ideological purpose only and results from post-processual analysis. Therefore, graves with a high proportion of weapons should be characterised as weapons graves so that the focus can be descriptive concerning grave contents and not be restricted by ideological constructs.[940] While male members of the elite and the population at large have probably served in a martial capacity to some level, the overemphasis of this description is a moot matter and more of an ideological construction than an accurate

[937] Fogelin 2007:66.
[938] Whitley 1991:226.
[939] Steinman 2012:16.
[940] Whitley 2002: 227.

description.[941] On a human level, burial settings are a skewed version of reality that may not reflect the identity of the persons buried during their lifetime but rather represent an image or narrative by the family of their concept of prestige and position projected onto the person buried. On the other hand, the problem may be more complex on a religious level, representing a functional aspect of burial ceremonies for propitiating the spirit of the deceased, akin to tombs used for veneration of the dead, but this is a fantastical hypothesis that cannot be substantiated given the lack of written sources.[942] From a sociological perspective, by recognising a male family member as a high-status warrior and decorating the body with weapons as grave goods during funeral ceremonies, the family members are not only establishing the individual's rank posthumously but also demonstrating the family's disposable income to all those in attendance at the burial. The funeral, therefore, bolsters their social credentials within the community and with social peers, competitive emulation as observed in other sectors of elite culture.[943]

In the areas examined, warrior burials are consistently seen but are not common, suggesting that it was an elite practice. There are several prominent examples found during the Geometric period, with the most ostentatious of them being at Eretria, West Grave, where a cremation burial, dating to the LGII period, was discovered with the ashes wrapped in a cloth and set in a bronze cauldron surrounded by stone slabs covered by layers of mud brick; the finds from this cemetery include five swords and six spearheads and was the beginnings of a tradition in the area that would last until the Late Archaic era.[944] Also, at East Locris, the wealthy graves found

[941] Ibid., 217-32.
[942] Dickinson 2006: 178.
[943] Davies 2013: 35-47.
[944] Mee 2011: 241-242.

at Atalante included several ostentatious weapons graves. Linked to this, grave goods help to identify social status through the attribution of disposable wealth in graves, which can be examined in correlation with age and gender, looking to discern a social hierarchy, societal norms, and complexity (see *Table 30*). Typically, in Athens, there is a distinct pattern of goods buried with genders; weapons burials are typically attributed to males and wealthier graves are attributed to female burials, and this is replicated through other burials in the varied regions examined (although female wealth levels are not as opulent in other regions). This connection underscores how cognitive archaeology, by examining the material aspects of ritual, complements the analysis of grave goods in understanding not only the symbolism but also the social hierarchies, gender roles, and cultural norms of ancient societies. Together, these approaches provide a more holistic view of how rituals and burial practices were embedded in these cultures' cognitive and social fabric. Associating the term 'female' with any social or cultural connotation presents particular challenges. Yet, it is the most suitable expression to circumvent various theoretical and methodological pitfalls in these circumstances. It should be noted that one cannot simply assign a gender attribution to grave goods and burial practices without qualification. Identification of sex is open to a spectrum of possibilities depending on the quality of survival or anatomy of the individual from 'certain male, probable male, indeterminate, possible female, probable female, certain female'. Secondly, the choice of grave goods and grave furnishings, costume, posture, position, grave structures and other attributes are choices by the mourners to recognise aspects of the social identity and circumstances of death and the dead. Langdon demonstrates that the emphasis of grave goods lies in the symbolism of marriage, possibly aimed at solidifying the concept of female purpose and family closure. The evolution of funerary customs throughout the eighth

century indicates a trend towards fewer and less inherently valuable grave goods, although young women continue to be an exception. According to Langdon, virginity is equated with being an '*elite female amongst females*', with the funerary representation of virginity serving the interests of the kin group through marriage. Maidens, in general, were depicted as fertile and sexualized entities crucial to the well-being of the community.[945] Therefore, items typically associated with female burials are object types that align with gender patterns observed across various graves. This connection underscores how cognitive archaeology, by examining the material aspects of ritual, complements the analysis of grave goods in understanding not only the symbolism but also the social hierarchies, gender roles, and cultural norms of ancient societies. Together, these approaches provide a more holistic view of how rituals and burial practices were embedded in these cultures' cognitive and social fabric.

Many graves from the EIA contain artefacts and items that indicate the contemporary material culture associated with female burials. However, in numerous instances, there are no surviving osteological estimations of the sex of the remains. This lack of estimation may be attributed to poor preservation in the archaeological record or to excavations predating the emergence of modern techniques. Additionally, it could be due to the remains belonging to individuals who were too young or immature for accurate sex estimation. Consequently, there may be instances where individuals, such as adolescents or children, are found with items traditionally associated with females. However, they cannot be specifically identified as women or assigned to the female sex. Moreover, there are rare examples wherein individuals identified as male based on sex exhibit female-associated items in their burials. Such occurrences

[945] Langdon 2008:195.

further complicate the identification of these male individuals and have broader implications for our understanding of gender dynamics.[946] Metal items, model granaries, clay balls, kalathoi, ivory and faience artefacts, and gold jewellery are found in female Grave goods in Athens (see Rich Athenian Lady Tomb).[947] Also, at the Kerameikos, female burials were the first to be given grave markers towards the end of the PG period, at the Kerameikos. [948] In various regions of Greece, female burials are accompanied by lavish grave offerings. Among these, the most prominent example is the female burial discovered at the Lefkandi Toumba Building. In this burial, a woman was interred with a remarkable assortment of grave goods (see page 81 for list).[949] Further to this, there are also finds of ostentatious female burials at Lake Paralimni (*Section 4.4.3*) in Boeotia, Atalante (see *Section 6.3*) and the anomalous find of a young girl with prestige gifts at Velestino (*Section 5.2*). It should also be noted that a higher proportion of female burials have yielded evidence of animal sacrifice, which shows their heightened status. Mazarakis-Ainian, examining the attribution of all burial goods across all geographical areas in Greece during the EIA, has found a distinct spike in 'clay vessels', jewellery, and metal items as well as Weapons.[950] Also, some objects found in both 'male' and 'female' graves have similar forms, making them neutral regarding gender attribution. This indicates their universality or lack of gender indicators. Additionally, since most graves during the EIA (both inhumation and cremation) do not have sufficient body remains, gender cannot usually be determined. As such, the correlation of grave goods for these burials is indeterminable.

[946] Williams 2023.
[947] Langdon 2008: 7-8.
[948] Langdon 2005: 6-7, n.2.
[949] Popham *et* al. 1982: 172.
[950] Mazarakis-Ainian 2017: 27, Table 8.

The presence of wealth and weapons as indicators of elite status is a topic explored by Dakoronia in her examination of East Locris. She argues that wealth alone may not necessarily denote elite status, citing the relatively high frequency of wealthy burials in the archaeological record, particularly at specific sites. Instead, Dakoronia suggests that the discovery of unique or extraordinary grave goods, especially those not commonly found in the material culture of EIA Greece, is a better indicator of high rank.[951] This concept is tied to the prestige of objects, often possessed and disposed of in burials by the wealthiest and most powerful individuals. While this perspective holds validity in some instances, it is important to note that wealth itself can also be a reliable indicator of elite status. In the EIA, disposable wealth and the presence of weapons were relatively rare occurrences, typically limited to specific places and times influenced by local or regional factors. Additionally, wealthy burials are often associated with specific individuals or groups within a community, as seen in examples like the Toumba Cemetery at Lefkandi, Eretria West Gate Cemetery, and the Athenian Kerameikos. These burials may not necessarily conform to a supraregional tradition associated with weapon burials, highlighting the multifaceted nature of elite status indicators.[952] The inclusion of weapons in the burial practice played a key ritual significance for elite men (and were found with elite women, too). Visually, it signifies the status and wealth of the deceased and, by extension, the remaining family, but it also has a place as a grave offering.

[951] Dakoronia 2006: 498.
[952] Brouwers 2010: 54.

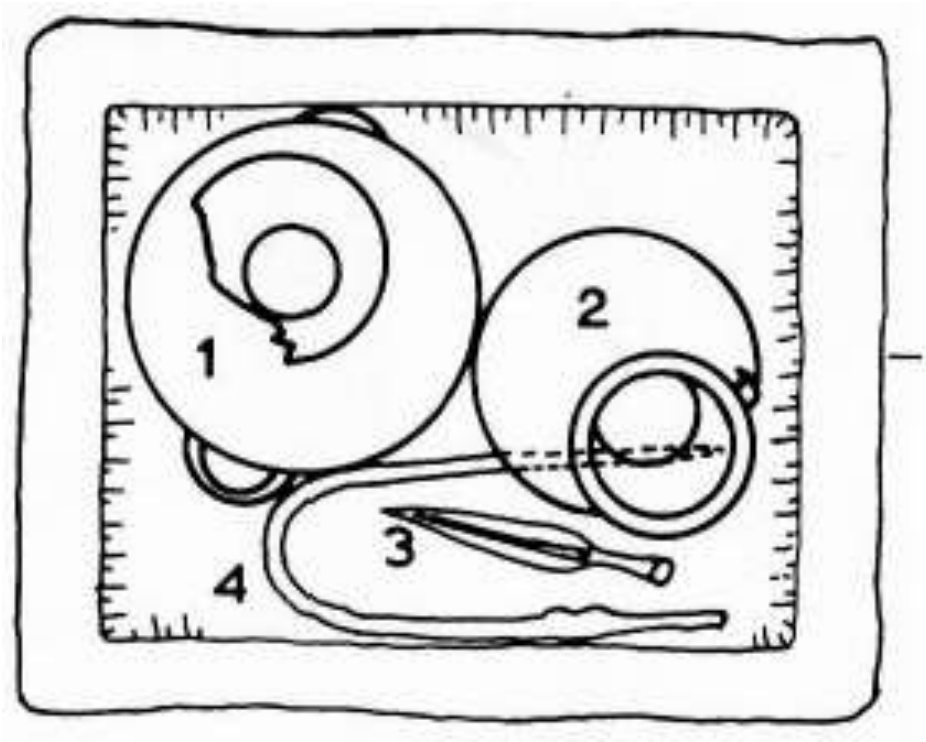


Figure 94: Toumba Tomb 14, cremation with 'killed sword'[953]

Unlike the debris of dining and its sympotic symbolism or eschatological relevance in the afterlife, there are also examples of killed weapons in burials in Athens, Lefkandi (Fig. 94), and Eretria, which shows that the physical weapon was significant. Just like the breaking of plates and the inclusion of foodstuffs may have been significant for nourishing the dead, the same principle is involved regarding weapons (whether 'ritually killed' or included whole in the burial). Objects are generally included in the burial either to assist the living or dead in some capacity, whether to give them more excellent status in the afterlife, the ability to defend themselves from chthonic entities, or more functionally, to break the symbolic power represented by the object itself, this may also include other significant metal objects such as the sceptres found in burials in Atlante in East Locris.

[953] Lloyd 2014: Plate 10a, after Popham *et* al. 1979: Pl.159.

However, unlike other areas where these are usually labelled as elite graves, at East Locris, Dakoronia gives some credence to the argument that wealth is no indication of elite status given the relatively high frequency of wealthy burials preserved in the archaeological record at this site.[954] She claims that the finding of extraordinary funerary presents that are not widespread or local in EIA Greece's material culture shows actual high rank. This ties into the prestige of objects, and it is usually the wealthiest and most powerful who possess such luxuries and can dispose of them in a burial context. This is partially correct, as heirlooms and other unique items can denote elite status. However, wealth is a solid indicator of elite status given that disposable wealth and even weapons are rare occurrences in general during the EIA, only at specific places and times, depending on local or regional circumstances.

9.5 Enchytrismoi

Despite the fragmentation of inter-regional burials, the one consistency throughout central Greece is the treatment of infants. Common in all regions is the inhumation burials of an infant in an appropriate seized vessel (often amphorae, hydriae, pithoi and other such large vessels), categorised as *enchytrismoi* burials (see *Table 31*). These burials are often sealed with the shard of another ceramic vessel or large stone. Such burials often contained no grave goods, and the treatment of the object was almost like refuse, although it is impossible to draw out the emotional state of mind of the parents or family at that point. Infant mortality rates were high, and this is reflected in the treatment of infant burials visible in the archaeological record. Infant burials in the archaeological record were incidental and concealed, and, likely, they were not afforded the privilege of a formal burial, partly due to the high rates of child

[954] Dakoronia 2006: 498.

deaths seen in the course of a generation (and the costs of a formal burial would entail in a period of relative poverty), partly that they were not a recognised part of the wider polity or settlement. However, there is also a possible eschatological angle that is not detectable.

The scarcity of official burials for children across the board is evidenced by the low number of children's tombs that are present in the archaeology. According to one religious belief, the afterlife can be entered with a purified soul thanks to cremation. Attending the cremation, one can watch (and smell) the soul descend into the underworld without worrying about being followed by a wandering or corporeal spirit. It has been speculated that it may have been possible to bury children because they were thought to have purer souls or that children were still connected to the word of spirits.[955] Astyanax is described in the Iliad as *'...Hector's darling, lovely as a star, whom Hector called Scamandrius, but everyone else Astyanax',*[956] which demonstrates that the idea of youthful innocence was as commonplace then as it is now. The 'bad dead,' whose contamination was considered dangerous for the living, with their untimely death preventing them from settling in the underworld, may also apply, as observed in later communities in Ancient Greece and Rome.[957] The age at which a person is regarded as a formal member of society depends on whether they are buried with due ceremony, cremated, or given a proper burial among minors and subadults. The informal burial of infants emphasises their overall ambiguous status, and the high infant mortality rate is probably a contributing factor to this treatment.[958] Using historical precedents from other historical periods, it is possible that, similar to

[955] Hertz 1960: 84.
[956] *Ili.*6.401-402.
[957] Pomadere 2005: 153-160.
[958] *Arist. Hist. An. 7.588 a8.*

a study on the infant mortality rates in 1750's England, parents during this period in Greece were 'obliged' to distance themselves from their children psychologically to preserve their mental stability.[959] Other anthropological examples from the Aegean region include Athens, where young people are buried in vessels up to 7 years old, as well as at Halos and Eretria, where teenagers are buried. *Enchytrismoi* vessels at Eretria from the LG to the EA period (mainly Amphora) utilised both coarse and fine materials. Most burials at Oropos are shallow pit or shaft graves and concern the *enchytrismoi* burials of infants and children. This type of burial saw inhumation burials inside a coarse jug with signs of domestic use (burning on the lower part of the vessel). There is some variation in burial vessels, with a Pithos used in Grave-IV and IX in the central quarter and an Amphora used in Grave-II in the western quarter. However, these instances are best described as anomalous, given the relatively few occurrences.

The enchytrismoi vessels vary and do not seem to follow any regular pattern. In Thebes at Tachi, *enchytismoi* graves can be categorised into a burial grouping due to the use of large amphorae and relatively large pithoi as funerary vessels, whilst also at Pyri (in Thebes) burial contexts included *enchytrismoi* in pithoi. At Antikyra (in rural Boeotia), Pithoi, jugs and kraters were used as burial vessels for cremations, whilst Pithoi was also predominantly used for the enchytrismoi burials at this site. At Kallion (in Phokis), cists carried enchytrismoi in huge jars, whilst in Magnesia in Thessaly (the usual boundary of the typical Mycenaean world), the excavation reports do not elaborate on the burial of children in an enchytrismos manner. This leads one to

[959] Stone 1977: 57 cited in Garland 1988: 80.

question if this is a detail neglected in the main rescue excavation reports or if more formal burials were accorded to children.

At Phokis, East Locris, and Phthiotis, whilst inhumation was the majority burial method, there are a small minority of graves in which the use of inhumation in ceramic vessels was employed for children and possibly adults and not just infants. However, the excavation reports are sketchy in detail. Linked to enchytrismoi burials are the burials of children within buildings, which are significant burial features across central Greece. Given that the burial finds of most infant and child burials are lacking, there is a parallel to the intramural burial of children, prominently seen at Oropos. Burial in a private space is the antithesis of a formal burial with a public display of mourning and is both private and unobserved. The level of infant mortality in this period may somewhat account for burial within the confines of the family home.

9.6 Cremation

Overall, cremation, for the regions examined, is mainly a minority burial rite (the exceptions being Athens, Lefkandi, Paros, and Eretria - see criteria for cremation in *Section 1.7*). Inhumation burials are the dominant form of burial rite seen in most regions examined, and cremation is only present in a small number of sites (see *Table 32*). The manner of cremation (primary versus secondary) varies and is not consistent in sites where it is present in the archaeological record. Following the framework from Hein, the actual process of cremation consists of three elements, grave, body and objects, which are all seen as composite objects, and these are further explored in

terms of preparation events, mortuary rituals, and post-burial changes (where applicable).[960]

Preparation events are concerned with choosing the grave site in the landscape and the burial plot within this space, and logistics for the actual burial, such as wood for the pyre, orientation of the grave, and modification of a new burial plot within an existing grave or monument. Preparation of the body (as seen in *Section 9.1*) is also significant. How the body is treated will reflect on their social standing, material wealth, health, age/sex/gender, and individual preference of internment and is ultimately the family's choice. Preparing the body also involves cleaning and clothing, as the body may be observed whilst being incinerated. Preparation of objects is also culturally significant, as choices must be made regarding grave furnishing, how the body is transported to the pyre and burial plot, those grave goods that have an eschatological significance and which are to accompany the body, as well as personal items such as clothes, body ornaments, religious objects, and token items included by the deceased's family and friends. In addition to this are those goods which are to be burnt on the pyre with the body and those goods which are to be used as part of the funerary process.

The next step in the process is the actual cremation mortuary ritual. This involves setting the pyre on fire and later diffusing the flames with water or, in the case of EIA Greece, most likely wine and finishing the burial plot so the ashes or burial container can be inserted into a built grave, closing the plot (although it is unclear if this had any significant *pomp* or ritual attached to it). After this, above-ground elements such as over-sized kraters and amphorae (in the case of the Kerameikos), sema, or

[960] Adapted from Hein 2013: 57-58, Table 5.1.

stone cairns will be added to complete the grave ritual. The mortuary ritual regarding the body will be linked to the transportation around the settlement (as seen in vase paintings of *ekphora*). The deceased may be transported around the settlement as a mark of respect, or depending on status, they may be taken straight to the cremation site; there is no evidence to suggest what the contemporary cultural practice was. The corpse will then be placed on the pyre, with the next step involving sorting what quantity of remains will be included in the physical burial, a token amount as per the hybrid system seen at sites like Assarlik (and possibly Lefkandi), or a large quantity of ashes such as cremation plots in Athens and Pithekoussai. These must then be placed into the grave in a wrapping or burial container (usually a ceramic pot). The objects to be included in the mortuary ritual also need to be transported (where applicable to the pyre site or secondary burial site) and will either be used by the deceased (burnt or included whole in the burial context) or used by the gathered group for the communal element of the burial ritual (later swept into the burial as debris where applicable).

The last stage of the cremation process is the post-burial changes, which for the burial site can involve reopening and removing/adding or destroying elements of the burial for either reuse of the burial plot, robbery, ancestor veneration, or destruction due to building activity in later periods. Changes to the site may occur through other means, such as natural post-depositional dislocation, ground shifting and other environmental factors (such as the flooding seen at Oropos – see *Section 3.4*). Post-burial changes regarding the cremated remains can occur due to exhumations for ritual or other reasons (reburial or making space for new internments), as well as disturbances caused by grave robberies and natural decay (as suggested by burials in the Toumba cemetery in Lefkandi – See *Section 3.2.3*). Lastly, the objects used in the burial process may be disturbed due to new post-burial rituals/offerings or grave

robbery. Objects may also be removed due to post-burial rituals, making space for new internments (as per the practice during the Mycenaean period) and due to robbery.[961] Using Hein's framework, burial deposition can be traced in a sequence of events, from the logistics and collection of raw materials to peri-funeral events.[962] This is a useful model to give a comprehensive understanding, but the inconsistency in the archaeological record can give an uneven picture. This model uses intentional, functional, and non-intentional data to structure the material systematically through diachronic modelling. Nevertheless, the model is a good framework with a caveat that the results are provisional, and the understanding of human actions needs to be reviewed in context to the settlement, region, and period.

Moving away from the technicalities of the cremation process, what is next relevant is why cremation was practised. Cremation may be a personal/family choice or socially proscribed. Cremation is practised at several sites, which are often described in terms of elite burials. This includes the cremation burial in the Lefkandi Toumba building, the cremation burials found in the Kerameikos in Athens, and the Geometric *Thékè* at Paroikia on Paros. Often, cremation burials for this period are also linked to other mortuary phenomena such as Tumuli mounds or stone markings such as the case at Halos in Thessaly, Tregaia on Naxos, at Pithekoussai, or Vranesi in Boeotia. There are also finds of cremation burials under temple structures or sanctuary sites such as at Eretria – Sanctuary of Apollo, and in Boeotia at Koroneia under Building A of the Temple of Athena-Itonia. All these cremation burials are the exception to the usual standard practice and seem to be placed at a spot of importance, with the burial site being later developed (or celebrated) as a sanctuary, temple or marked in

[961] Castleden 2005: 100.
[962] Kontonicolas 2018: 53

such a way that it stood out in the landscape such as those marked at Pithekoussai or Halos. Cremation, in this sense, does somewhat resemble burial in Homer, especially in the Iliad with the funeral pyres of Patroclus and Hector. Both were secondary cremations because their burnt bones were collected from ashes, placed in a metal vessel, and then buried elsewhere. Homer references both primary and secondary cremation burials. In the case of the former, the pyre is erected at the location of the tomb and covered with dirt or stones following the burial.[963] As in the cases of Patroclus, Hektor, and Achilles, secondary burial refers to a more uncommon ritual in which the charred bones are removed from the ashes, wrapped in fine cloth, placed in a priceless metal urn, and interred elsewhere.[964] Whilst descriptions of their funeral and the funeral games were fantastical, what the Iliad somewhat tallies with was the general description of covered pyres, which were generally covered with earth and stones in a small tumulus structure just like those at Halos, Pithekoussai, and Naxos, where cremation burials have been discovered marked by both stone circles and tumuli. [965]

The shared elements from Homer and later writing also underscore the enduring significance of purity in cremation practices, where the impurity of the deceased's flesh was a central concern. However, the obsession for purity may have had a role in the development of cremation throughout the EIA. The idea of the flesh's impureness in ancient Greece has persisted and is widely held. The corpse was seen as the height of impurity. In the later Classical era mourners attending to the body were briefly cut off from society, with those who paid the deceased a home visit also

[963] Crielaard 2016; *Il.* 6.418-19, 7.435-6; *Od*. 12.11-15
[964] Dué, C., Lupack, S. and Lamberton, R. 2020: 307–311
[965] *Ili*.23.54-107.

later purifying themselves.[966] Greeks were just as repulsed by rotting flesh during the Archaic era, and this goes back into the PG and Geometric periods. After a body had been entombed, it was only handled once it had decomposed. In inhumation burials from the LHIIIC period, Cavanagh and Mee postulated that older remains were cremated before new burials were entombed.[967] Thomatos disregarded Cavanagh's theory due to an absence of supporting data.[968] However, Cavanagh's theory references purifying, fire, and secondary burial, suggesting that a fire ritual would be associated with a re-interment. According to Blegen's theory, a purificatory ceremony would serve as a practical means of combating the odour of decay.[969] According to Blegen, Cavanagh, and Mee, multiple burials were the driving force behind a fire ritual in funerals.[970] During the earlier Mycenaean period, there was a definite connection between sanctity and fire rituals. Sacred hearths and ashen remains were present in the megaron structures, with the hearth found within a permanent feature.[971] Textual evidence relating to fire-rituals is stated in Linear B tablets (see Pylos tablet - PY143 – Fig. 95), with the mention of a male figure called the 'fire-kindler, firewatcher, or one who watches the fire', associated with religious acts (pyromancy), later associated with the Sanctuary of Delphi.[972]

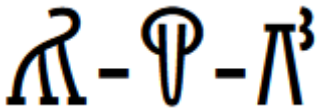


Figure 95: PU-KO-WO (pukowos/Πυρκόοι) written in Linear B[973]

[966] Burket 1985: 79.
[967] Cavanagh and Mee 1998: 93-94.
[968] Thomatos 2006: 168.
[969] Blegen 1937 cited in Gallou 2005: 121.
[970] DiBattista 2012: 62-63.
[971] Biers 1987: 66-7.
[972] Ventris & Chadwick 1973: 424; Liddell & Scott 1996: 1558. Weilhartner 2016: 401.
[973] Ventris & Chadwick 1956: 181, 424; Sytsema 2017.

Greek funeral rites have included fire rituals since the Middle Helladic era. The emphasis on the impureness of dead flesh persisted concurrently across Greece. According to theories put up to explain the switch to multiple burials, Middle Helladic fire rituals served useful purposes. This idea was furthered by discovering ash deposits in numerous Middle Helladic tombs (especially at Argos).[974] Therefore, it is not improbable that fire rituals from the LBA era continued throughout the EIA. Cremation would be the inevitable result if the fire ritual used to purify the tomb were performed on the dead. These cemeteries might have invented a new type of burial by adapting continuing practices that originated in the Middle Helladic period. As a result, intermediate cremation methods with inhumation components were developed.[975]

When exploring the notion of exceptional cremation burials, there are finds of pyres with no bones or fragments of burial offerings, suggesting that the pyre was thoroughly 'beaten' out after burning.[976] It is most likely that the sherds found were gathered and transported to the burial site, with charred material most likely left behind. In the case of Pithekoussai, Ridgeway also states that charred material was dropped on the way. However, this is unlikely as practically speaking, it is easier to put charred materials in a container for transport (or for later burial in several cases). It could easily be sealed until they arrived at the internment site. Therefore, as well as incurring the high cost of cremation, there is also an added effort in transporting the charred remains and a second burial site, often a distance away from the pyre. The most elaborate process was found in LG and EA Athens, with the appearance of the so-called *Opferrinnen* attributed to elite burials of the LG/EA period. Such highly visible

[974] Antonaccio 1995: 14.
[975] DiBattista 2012: 62-63.
[976] See n. 702.

or stylistic burials were often developed to show a change in values and virtues, showing the interplay of funerary customs and profane civic ideology of the developing polity with the elaborate cremation explained as a response to significant transformations in the religious sphere of Greek society in general in the 8th century in particular.

Despite the few exceptional cremation burials found in the archaeological record, cremation in this period is not significant in eschatological terms but was more of a social marker motivated by economic factors and prestige within the community. Cremation guarantees a quicker decomposition, more visible effort than inhumation, has a more significant impact on the community through sight and smell, and is more of a spectacle. Regarding the smell, Pine tree residues were discovered at the Kerameikos in Athens, whereas olive tree residues were discovered in cemeteries at Lefkandi.[977] Ethnographic cases are a reminder that certain species of wood were chosen for their scent, sacredness, or noise produced when burning – and that these species were not those closest or most accessible for the mourners. Meanwhile, the technique of setting up the pyre is still unknown throughout the Greek world. Questions of who erected these biers, who tended to them, and who was in charge of organising the burial remain also remain unanswered.[978] Conversely, given the amount of effort and time involved in performing a cremation, it would be easy to assume those interred in inhumation graves may have been individuals who did not meet the criteria for exceptional burial. However, given the number of inhumations found compared to

[977] Breitinger 1939: 181; Popham *et* al. 1980: 201, n.17.
[978] Kontonicolas 2018: 111.

cremations, this is unlikely, and a more contextual regional analysis may need to be applied to assess 'normal' burial practices.[979]

9.7 Homer and Hesiod and the concept of an afterlife

Conventionally, Homer and Hesiod represent views of death around the end of the Geometric period and Early Archaic period.[980] Death in Homer is inevitable even for those favoured by the gods, but death itself is seen to be transcended through the intervention of the gods.[981] The dead are pictured as unhappy with mourning and burial rites expected to be performed by surviving kin or peer groups. Without these rites, the deceased was depicted as restless, trapped between two planes of existence.[982] A glorious or honourable death was preferred, life was short, war was a dangerous occupation, and death was not to be scared of or to be pessimistic of. An honourable death equates to *kleos* in song and reverence after death through reputation. Later, civic ideology (especially in Democratic Athens) promoted that death in battle was beneficial to the overall benefit of the *polis* (selected examples include Lysias Funeral Oration *Lys.*2 81 and Thucydides *2.35-47*) over a more mundane domestic death. Homer has no clear concept of the afterlife; the underworld is seen as neither unpleasant nor enjoyable (Odyssey Book 11), and there is no concept of divine punishment for misdeeds or violation of any moral code.[983] The afterlife in Homer was a basic set up, with the Iliad showing the earliest concept of a soul and the human fate beyond death (although a 'soul' was initially described as *autoús* rather

[979] Ibid., 145.
[980] Rosen 1997.
[981] *Ili*.1.414-17.
[982] *Ili*.23.99-107, 22.304; *Od*.11.57-80, 12.10-15.
[983] Bruce 1991: 15.

than the later Platonic *psūkhḗ).*[984] Homer implies that man has a different nature from his body in the first few words of the Iliad.[985] Whether Homer believed that a person's non-physical attributes (soul or consciousness) were distinct from their physical bodies and that they had an immortal nature is debatable. Hesiod claimed that after the soul is severed from the body, it might continue to live a meaningful life. This concept is made evident in his book about men from the Golden Age who evolved into afterlife guard spirits, which illustrates how, even after death, their lives continued to impact others.[986] This is in contrast to Hesiod's own race of iron, who were both good and evil.[987] In contrast to what Homer claimed, souls were also depicted as active energies, at least among those on Earth, not just as ghosts or apparitions, with Hesiod stating that such energies dissociating from their physical bodies and relocating to an area closer to the gods. They could reach far higher places than where they were when attached to bodies. This idea had never been proposed before and was entirely new. Here is the fundamental idea of the soul upgrading as it leaves the body; this idea was further developed through Orphism in the late historical period. Accordingly, rituals of purification and sacrifice became more important.[988]

Examining Homer's Iliad, the text is only concerned with providing implicit details regarding Patroclus and Hector's funeral. For both, details of the burial were the same – the text states that they were given elaborate cremations. Patroclus was placed on a bier, covered with what looked like a delicate sheet, and then covered again with a white cloak or shroud. After cutting his hair and placing it in the hands of the deceased, Achilles placed his hands on Patroclus' head as he followed the funeral

[984] Wu 2018: 26-29; Bremmer 2020: 230, 232.
[985] *Ili*.1.3-4.
[986] Hes.*WD.*110-120.
[987] Hes.*WD.*174-180.
[988] Ahmed 2016: 131-133.

procession. The head and hands were left uncovered when the dead were taken in this final procession.[989] When Priam was permitted to transport Hector back to Troy at Hector's funeral, two linen cloths were provided to him and after, the women laid hold of his head and sang dirges in his honour.[990] The dead must have been made visible to the mourners in Patroclus' and Hector's cases.[991] Elements of this description are corroborated by the figurative art scenes found in Athens, and cremation was readily practised in the Mid-Late Geometric period. However, as is seen in all regions outside of Attica in central Greece, cremation was not common but exceptionable; therefore, looking at the accounts of burial in Homer, it is easy to deduce that burials in a 'Homeric' manner were not the norm for the majority of the areas covered.

It was not until the Late Archaic or Early Classical period that the criteria of reward and punishment became unambiguous and even an element of reincarnation with the advent of Orphism.[992] The depiction of the underworld exists in shade or shadows and is less than tangible, with concepts of an afterlife such as Elysium or the Isle of the Blessed.[993] According to Morris, attitudes toward death only altered gradually.[994] There were some eschatological developments, such as introducing of Eastern concepts about the soul around 500 BCE. However, they were a relatively minor change compared to what was already established and exemplified in Homer and Hesiod.[995]

[989] *Iliad* Book 23.
[990] *Il.* 24.588.
[991] Ahmed 2016: 138-145.
[992] Plat.*Rep.*10.614-622.
[993] *Ili.*23.65-7, Od.11.204-207, 11.221-222; Plat.*Crat.*400c, Plat.*Laws*.8.829, Plat.*Rep*.2.364e.
[994] Morris 1989: 296-320.
[995] Wu 2018: 33-37.

9.8 Conclusion

Increased regionalism in burials during the PG period extended into the Geometric. The only tangible consistencies in burial practices are (i) the shared ideology in 'weapons graves'; (ii) the consistent treatment of infants differently than adults, with the lack of emphasis on the display of power and the promotion and negotiation of identities in child burials (notable examples have only been found outside of our examined regions, especially the Peloponnese such as the gold-covered child in the Mycenae shaft grave (iii), and the very rare attestation of child cremations;[996] and (iv) the continued role of age and gender. Tombs only hold a portion of the material remnants of death rites, such as funeral and post-funerary behaviours not confined to the gravesite.[997]

The intangible element of burial is the associated belief system and how this is manifested through associated rituals and celebrations. The dead had power, and burial rituals were designed to console and reconcile the dead through suitable mourning and funeral processes to protect the family and the wider community. If no suitable memorial or commemorative rituals were undertaken, the dead could be punished and contained in a state between life and death. Funeral rituals were a familial and theistic obligation. Mourning and the rituals contained therein were enacted to reduce fear of the dead and appease deities who enforced piety and compliance with ancestral laws.[998] More specifically, in the EIA, funeral rituals such as ritual feasting and drinking were performed to consolidate peer status for the dead, with their kin projecting perceived wealth and status on the dead for their benefit, in an act of competition emulation with other elites. The adoration of the deceased to

[996] Pomadere 2005.
[997] Galanakis 2020: 364-365.
[998] *Od.*11.71-80.

validate present social status is another method of rank consolidation. This is accomplished by connecting the notion of authority through tradition to the identification of elite tombs, creating a social connection to the rule or influence of someone else. Given the lack of ruling institutions in the various communities following the fall of the Mycenaean civilisation, the emphasis on the past may be related to a wish to bond and regulate modern groups through reference to a common heritage.

The ritual of inhumation or cremation can help verify one's social presence in the community, either under the guise of weapons burial or by honouring the dead through elaborate ritual feasting/libations, emphasising the affluence and wealth of a particular family. *Prothesis* scenes on funerary vessels also depict the dead and mortuary goods. The more common ceremonies that involve the display of grave goods as an act of consolidation and playing into wider competition emulation are both types of ceremonies that demonstrate power in terms of status through lineages and inheritances, as well as an identification with an ancestor through upkeep and posthumous rituals.

Although it has been argued that Homer was an Euboean, it is improbable that the Homeric descriptions could have originated from a single actual case.[999] It is also possible that, if they reflect actual practice, they could apply to other areas (possibly Ionia) rather than mainland Greece. When looking at burials already examined, there appear to be similarities, such as PG tholoi in Thessaly, which appear to have been constructed for what appear to be elite graves, family tombs utilised for several burials, with examples of spectacular burial tumuli found later.[1000] The enclosures enclosing LPG tombs at Grotta on Naxos are among the oldest indications of probable devotion

[999] Morris and Powell 1997: 31.
[1000] Georganas 2000.

of the deceased in some type of ancestor religion.[1001] Although the Grotta burials themselves are not very noteworthy in terms of their design or contents, ceremonies were undoubtedly held there for a substantial amount of time. Even if the structure itself was not utilised as a shrine, as Mazarakis-Ainian contends, there is still indirect proof of a cult along the edge of the mound, suggesting that the Lefkandi '*Heroön*' may be considered to be part of the most magnificent surviving example of such a cult. The Grotta enclosures serve as a reminder that it is inappropriate to assume that there is a unified culture of funeral practises in the EIA Aegean.[1002]

[1001] Mazarakis-Ainian 1997: 188–9.
[1002] Dickinson 2006: 193.

CHAPTER 10 – CONCLUSION

This thesis represents the culmination of several years of research and analysis. It offers a comprehensive exploration of mortuary archaeology in the Euboean Gulf and associated regions, revealing significant insights into burial customs and associated rituals (both social and eschatological). This examination is intended to shed light on the sociological, religious, and cultural implications of these practices and their relevance to the development of pre-Archaic Greece and broader societal changes. Examining burial practices, grave good types, and funerary architecture from a symbolic and functionalist perspective reveals important insights into EIA communities' cultural, social, and religious aspects (*Section 10.1*). The findings highlight mortuary practices' diverse and dynamic nature, reflecting complex socio-cultural changes during this period (*Section 10.2*). Symbolism, ritual, and practicality were integral to EIA burials, with grave goods as tangible expressions of belief systems and social identities (*Section 10.3*). Furthermore, the analysis revealed social stratification and gender differentiation reflected in mortuary practices, indicating hierarchies and power dynamics within EIA communities (*Section 10.4*). This thesis also highlights the importance of interdisciplinary approaches and the need for contextualised analysis when studying mortuary practices (*Section 10.5*).

10.1 Methodology

The methodology employed to interpret funerary architecture and findings incorporates the viewpoint of both functionality and symbolism. This approach argues that the uniform use of burial items, such as ceramic wares, provides evidence of graveside funerary rituals, specifically ritual feasting, from a functionalist perspective

(see *Section 9.2*). This interpretation allows for a holistic understanding of burial practices. These items initially represent evidence for commensality rites during burial ceremonies, underscoring the significance of collective participation and shared experiences in the funerary process. After the gathering, mourners aimed to dispose of these utensils as burial debris, showing its low economic value. This practice expedited the transition without the need for cleanup or the burden of carrying utensils back to their original storage location, a notable consideration given the location of many burial plots on the periphery or outside settlements in rural locations. Subsequently, it also served a greater purpose for the individual interred, suggesting the belief that proto-sympotic practices were undertaken in the afterlife.

Furthermore, where applicable, the inclusion of these items, ensuring their disposal, did not greatly impact the family's wealth. This perspective highlights the pragmatic aspects of burial customs, considering practical concerns and the context of such rituals. The functional aspect of ceramic wares in facilitating these communal rituals emphasises the social cohesion and community dynamics associated with burial practices. This represents a symbolic function beyond their utilitarian purpose. They can represent cultural beliefs, rituals, or metaphysical concepts associated with death and equipping oneself for the afterlife.[1003]

10.2 Mortuary Variation and Dynamic Burial Trends

The period saw dynamic burial variation deduced from the physical evidence of the burial architecture, which varied between different regions, settlements, and even within the same cemeteries. Cremation was a minority rite in the regions examined

[1003] Hom. *Od.* 24.1-14; Hom.*Il.16.632-675;* Hes.*Theog.*211-12, 758-66.

(the exception being central Athens, Lefkandi, Pithekoussai and Paros), with its importance and frequency varying across the areas examined (see *Section 8.9*). It is easy to link Cremation burials to elite practices, given the effort it takes and the possible expense (the fuel needed to get a pyre up to the required temperature. Its lack of use overall is also a commentary on the period's economic conditions. Sites where cremation is popular, tend to be prosperous overall, judging by the finds (see burial trends in Pithekoussai, Athens, Eretria and Lefkandi). From a study of the overall data (see *Tables 13, 14, 32*), cremation practices also emerged as a distinct burial ritual associated with social status, symbolising elevated standing and prestige. These changes in burial customs reflect evolving beliefs, behaviours, and the significance of individual/family identity and hierarchy (see *Section 9.6)*. The transition from multiple burial plots to single plots, along with the introduction of cremation for elite burials or wealthier communities (such as at the Kerameikos in Athens, Lefkandi or Pithekoussai), demonstrates the varied ways in which burial practices were utilised.

Inhumation was observed to be the dominant burial type throughout the Euboean Gulf (see *Table 14*), with specific inhumation burial architecture varying throughout central Greece and the examined islands (see *Chapter 8*). In inhumation burials, one can observe a spectrum of various burial architectural types, spanning from simple pits to constructed cist tombs and even more elaborate Tholos and Chamber tombs (found in Boeotia and Thessaly - with some even repurposing Late Bronze Age structures). Additionally, monumental burial structures like Tumulus burials can also be identified (*Section 8.10*). The variation in inhumation tomb types carries important implications for EIA Greece. Firstly, it suggests that burial practices were not rigidly standardised during this period. The presence of diverse tomb types indicates a degree of flexibility and regional variation in burial customs. This reflects

the diversity and complexity of the societies and communities during the period. Secondly, the variation in tomb types challenges the notion that social status alone determines the type of burial. The prevalence of many tomb architecture for rich and poor graves implies that factors other than wealth or social rank influenced burial practices. These factors could include kinship ties, personal religious beliefs, cultural traditions, or just individual/family preference. The burial process and the ensuing ritualistic practice are shaped by multiple contributors, including the deceased, surviving kin, the surrounding community or region, and potentially ritual specialists (*Section 9.1-4*). Therefore, the variation in inhumation tomb types for rich and poor burials in EIA Greece demonstrates the diverse and nuanced nature of burial practices. It indicates regional variations and underscores the significance of studying burial customs in elucidating the social and cultural complexities of the time.

10.3 Material Culture and Ritual Uniformity

Most of our data originates from funeral contexts, suggesting that, in actuality, the procedures regarding preparation of the deceased and their deposition are known more than those of contemporary life.[1004] Most finds from this period are judged to be of 'poor quality', and the assessment of their cultural impact is also dismissed (hence why the ephorate reports tend to lack substantive details). Despite this, even poorer burials can add to the period's narrative. The level of austerity seen in burials of middling to little wealth compared to burials of high-status quality allows us to see the social stratification existing throughout the EIA (*Section 9.4*). Central Greece around the Euboean Gulf and islands connected to this area were characterised by profound regionalism with dynamic burial trends loosely following regional boundaries. Even

[1004] Fahlander & Oestigaard 2008: 1.

within regions, the burial architecture does not follow a set pattern. Each settlement, cemetery or even wider region seems to have developed its own funerary process, indicating a diversity of local cultural customs and beliefs surrounding death.[1005] Exceptional burials, characterised by extraordinary wealth and artefacts, represent only a small percentage of the overall burial samples analysed. This data highlights shifting economic and social conditions and shows changing contemporary cultural norms. The regression seen both during and after the LBA collapse had a profound psychological effect on the remaining population and would have contributed to a shift in the social organisation toward forming small-scale communities based on family bonds that can be termed 'stable'. Furthermore, the 'hurry' to migrate away from BA settlements, was linked to the period's instability, and may have helped preserved the loose family-centric likely social structure employed. The contemporary demographic response appears to have been to keep to an independent and adaptable model of small units.[1006] The adoption of this model was as a result of the need for social organisation models that could withstand radically shifting economic (and perhaps political) conditions. After the collapse (during the PG period), such movements can be traced in Boeotia, Phthiotis, and Phokis through individual or small burial plots in rural areas not connected to any known settlement (as yet undetected hamlets or villages, most likely). This is also evident from both isolated burial plots (like those in rural Boeotia), as well as burial contexts found on the periphery of relatively later larger settlements, such as at Volos in Thessaly, or even Thebes (whose population drastically reduced after the palace collapse but later became a significant *polis* once again through steady growth patterns over the Geometric period).

[1005] See *Sections 2.2, 3.2, 3.3, 3.4, 4.6, 5.9, 7.1.4, 7.3.*
[1006] Snodgrass 1971: 387.

Wealth is measured by a review of items made out of precious metals, uncommon jewellery items (after an assessment of local burial contexts), weapons (in both male and female burials), excessive amounts of ceramic wares, and the presence of imported items. In cases where burials exhibit exceptional wealth, it serves as evidence of elite status (*Sections 8.13 and 9.4*). Also, it sheds light on significant stylistic characteristics of the era, often aiding in dating the burial. Wealthier burials reflect the practice of competition emulation associated with the disposal of wealth in this manner (particularly in the LG period). By examining wealth, gender patterns have also been identified through high-status discoveries. After the early 7th century, when weapons burials primarily ceased, deposits of artefacts of social value in funerary contexts, such as weapons, became a relatively marginal phenomenon in Greece.[1007]

Examining the material culture concerning the presence of newcomers or invaders reveals interesting insights. The heterogeneity of tomb types and funerary practices (*Chapter 9*) implies no structured approach to funerary architecture, suggesting a lack of a cohesive force controlling every aspect of society (that would often be found with invaders or incoming elites discounting the *Dorian Invasion Theory*). Funerary architecture is too varied and unorganised, which supports defragmentation on a relatively local and inter-regional level. When there are connections to the LBA, like the reuse of tombs, it can be regarded as a homage to ancestors and highlights contemporary thoughts on folk memory and cultural foundations. Additionally, it highlights the practicality of residents utilising existing tombs, possibly due to the minimal effort required for constructing new burial structures. Overall, no clear evidence of a shift in material culture supports the notion of significant external influences or cultural takeovers. Instead, any observed change

[1007] Murray 1999: 10.

in material culture can be more plausibly attributed to natural migration patterns or trade networks. While specific examples may indicate some external influence (such as at Thessaly, where changes in diet are seen through simple isotope analysis), this reflects minor social incursions between regions rather than a systematic takeover, with genetic studies indicating no break in DNA continuity between the Bronze Age and modern periods in Greece overall.[1008] Given this evidence, alternative explanations for anomalous burial items may result from an overall agrarian and relatively poor lifestyle.[1009]

There was ritual uniformity during this period, as seen when comparing funerary rituals (see *Table 27*) across regions. This comparison emphasises the significance of providing physical provisions for the deceased's afterlife and funerary commensality for the mourners (*Section 9.2*).[1010] Reenforcing this is the observation that ritual paraphernalia consistently includes ceramic ware as an essential element (cups, plates/bowls, pouring and mixing vessels). Tied in to this the presence of finely crafted and elaborately decorated ceramic wares in elite burials signalled the high status and wealth of the deceased or their family. In contrast, using simpler and less ornate ceramics in poor burials may reflect a different social standing or economic means. Moreso, its ubiquity suggests a shared understanding of its importance, transcending any class structure and specific regional or cultural boundaries. These shared cultural practices indicate a lack of observable religious systems. What is seen is that instead of a focus on formalised ritual practices, what emerges is an emphasis on community and community perception in the burial rituals. Rituals during the EIA seem to be centred around the notion of collective mourning (*Section 9.1*) and commemoration,

[1008] Lazaridis *et* al. 2017.
[1009] Mee 2011: 114.
[1010] Fox 2012: 79-83.

highlighting these societies' social bonds and shared experiences. While some rituals bear similarities to later eschatological systems, which deal with the concept of the afterlife and require specific liturgical practices, it is important to approach these connections with caution as they remain speculative given the lack of contemporary texts (away from Homer and Hesiod). What can be charted is that the paradigmatic shift in ritual action seen during this period was the forerunner of the focus on civic cohesion later seen within *poleis* institutions and festivals with a shift from individualistic pseudo-religious practice to organised religious institutions and constructing personal social bonds through *Symposia* from the Late Geometric/Early Archaic period onwards. The tomb's architecture represent a transitional space or boundary between the world of the living and the world of the dead, a liminal intersection for personal beliefs regarding death.[1011] This contrasts the communal and domestic practices observed in the larger civic centres during the period.[1012]

The finds of weapons, such as spearheads or a Naue-II type sword, usually indicate a male burial, carrying the connotation that the individual is associated with martial power or warrior status (*Section 9.4, Table 30*). The use of daggers is more ambiguous to attribute to any sex, as evident from finds of daggers in both male and what are suspected female contexts (such as at Lake Paralimni and at Pyri). There has been speculation that during the EIA, small regional elites who identified themselves as a warrior class held power and controlled resources; this hypothesis comes from the finds of weapons in male burials and depictions of elites in Homer.[1013] Whilst there may be some validity in this model, without more evidence, this is speculation at best. This post-processual ideological construct may not necessarily

[1011] Mureddu 2016: 315.
[1012] Mazarakis-Ainian 1997.
[1013] Star 1992: 4, Murray 1993: 52.

reflect the reality of their roles in society. Whilst being proficient in combat and owning a sword was likely reserved for male elites, it is essential to note that weapons also had various symbolic functions, as they signified not only the ability to engage in formal warfare but also could convey notions of honour, masculinity, and the capacity to protect oneself and one's community – projecting an honoured status, whether true or false. An analysis of the burials in Chapters 3-7 shows that most high-status weapons burials include ani iron sword.

During the LHIIIC period, the 'Naue II' sword replaced the Aegean 'Sandars' type swords. This shift resulted from two key factors. Firstly, the 'Naue II' sword's intricate craftsmanship made it highly sought after, reflecting superior skills. Secondly, its prevalence in Greece was due to imports from other European areas, indicating robust trade networks and inter-regional cultural exchanges. This underscores its importance beyond local contexts, likely influenced by indirect interactions with the Urnfield Culture and later the Hallstatt group, as evidenced by discoveries of related military items like spearheads and snaffle bits,[1014] although caution should be exercised as this is somewhat a '*Hegelian view*'– seeing unity behind diverse interactions of human activity.[1015] Their inclusion in burial contexts denotes their value as a functional weapon and underscores their symbolic importance, representing power, prestige, and perhaps even notions of heroism. [1016] As well as daggers, burials containing a significant amount of high-status grave goods are typically associated with potential female interments (see *Section 9.4*). Notable examples include the burials within the Lefkandi Toumba structure, at Paralimni in Boeotia, and in the *Agora* at Athens – especially Tomb 15 ('the Rich Athenian Lady'). Due to this correlation, it

[1014] Foltiny 1961: 284, 288.
[1015] Murray 1999: 11.
[1016] Snodgrass 1964: 78-83.

can be conjectured that women served as conveyors of family honour, symbolising power dynamics within the community and emphasising a kin group's wealth and social status. Sex can be determined in Athenian burials in this period from the location of handles on amphorae found in burial contexts (belly-handled indicating 'female' burial, and shoulder-handled amphorae indicating 'male' burial), as well as from ceramic types found as tomb receptacles (kraters vs amphorae, see Fig. 6, *Section 2.2*).[1017] Conversely, other than exceptional wealth levels, there are no consistent cross-regional markers, such as tomb type or internment type, to indicate class or status. There is also no cross uniformity in personal grave goods to indicate sex, even the presence of fibulae in burial contexts cannot be tied to any one gender as they are discovered in both contexts throughout the regions examined and must be taken within regional or settlements trends.

10.4 Collective identity

Outside of the various inhumation methods of burial, there is no correlation or consistency in the burial trend across individual chronological periods or even the entire EIA in the examined areas. By examining the regional data trends and tomb typology,[1018] Morris's theories regarding 'formal burial' (page 4) can also be applied.[1019] The evidence of an observed shift in burial patterns may not necessarily be attributed solely to the socio-political elite of the time. To trace the trend, changes in burial practice occurred after the LBA through adopting more austere funerary architecture ('simple' burials – see *Section 8.2*), which can also be linked to the de-

[1017] See n.97, 106.
[1018] See *Sections 2.3, 3.2.2, 3.3.2, 4.6, 5.9, & 6.5,* and *Chapter* 8
[1019] Morris 1987.

centralisation of the period with different regions conforming to both a pre-*polis* and *polis*-less tribes (*ethne*) model. It is also significant that larger, stable communities arose when location and contact networks provided a stable environment and prospects for prosperity during the 9th and 8th centuries. The emergence of large population centres becomes apparent in various locations. For example, Elateia (EPG), Medeon (PG-Geometric), Atalante (PG-SPG), Tragana (MG-LG), Velestino (PG-G), and numerous LG communities transformed into *poleis*, with central Athens being the most notable among them. However, most other areas show consistently low levels of wealth, with any variation suggesting an elite burial, with status markers like weapons, precious metals, symbolic artefacts and grave markers present to denote a rank system or special status. The small number of these exceptionable burials highlights that social competition existed and that this may have been the stabilising force for the foundation of the *polis* system in applicable regions.[1020]

Given these factors, the observed data trends towards centralisation is more naturally associated with factors such as the rising population and changes in agrarian practices and even coalescence in the face of more organised conflicts, perhaps the Lelantine war (although this is moot). These factors, along with the process of self-identification and the formation of an 'in-group' (thereby not entirely dismissing Morris's assertion but rather considering it a minor contributing factor), can contribute to the changes seen in burial practices. As a result, what was thought to be a formal burial is the result of a lengthier socio-political transition process that is dynamic rather than a picture of an organised *polis* state that culminated in the Classical model. Building

[1020] Papadopolou 2017: 308-309.

upon these findings, this study of the Greek EIA holds broader implications for consolidating previous surveys conducted in this field.

After the Late Bronze Age, at the start of the SM period continuing into the Protogeometric and Geometric period, burial practices shifted from multiple burial plots to single plots, indicating a significant transformation in the treatment of the deceased and the organisation of burial spaces. Previously, collective burials were common, reflecting the communal nature of society during the Mycenaean period. However, a noticeable shift towards individualised burial plots emerged, reflecting a more personalised and individualistic approach to burial rites. Most of these plots were simple inhumation burials in pit or cist graves, reflecting the austere level of wealth and general fragmentation of the period. The wealth level in most tombs, excluding the most elite ones, is generally modest or poor throughout the entire EIA, reflecting the period's economic conditions. Towards the end of the 8th century, there was a shift back towards a collective identity through organised cemeteries and burial plots, but instead of multiple burials, individual plots remained in most cases. These burials frequently occurred on the edges of developing larger settlements, suggesting maybe early ideas about inhabitation and pollution and the defining of sacred or shared zones. Differentials in grave items throughout the EIA suggested establishing a new elite class essential to creating stable *polis* sites during the Archaic Period. With the only evidence for an '*aristoi'* class before this being a smattering of elite burials (in comparison to the number of middling and poorer graves). Likely such a phenomena was a heightened version of the structure of society exacerbated by folk tradition (remnants of Mycenaean officials – local *Basileus* becoming equated with settlement chiefs) and oral poetry (Homer and Hesiod), with any power operating in a

decentralised form in larger settlements but with little sway over the known dispersed settlements, at least until the 8th century.

The emergence of hero cults, with particular tombs associated with legendary characters, further highlighted the connection between burial customs and the fundamental components of the Greek *polis* by giving later city-states a mytho-historical backdrop (such as at Thebes and Athens) and communal focal point. Such changing burial practices paralleled and foretold more significant changes in Greek society, eventually leading to the Greek city-state's organic establishment. Connected to the elevation of the deceased is the practice of venerating them over extended periods. This is done through direct supplication (*Section 9.3* and *Table 28*) through 'mnemonic' feasting or later offerings (examples of settlements include Pithekoussai, Antikyra, and Eretria). Additionally, the reuse of Late Bronze Age tombs is observed in locations like Volos, Modern Pteleos, Exarchos, Antikyra, and Thebes, shows how important the link to the past was. Chthonic cults are also relevant, as seen in 'The Sacred House' at Athens and 'Building A ' at Tragaia on Naxos.

Furthermore, burial structures also function as *Heroön* buildings, as seen at Lefkandi, Oropos, Euboea, and Eretria. The tradition was widespread during the Late Bronze Age, and its continuation into the EIA served as a means to legitimise the existing ruling system and social structure by establishing a connection to past sources of power, prestige, and ancestry. Communities can foster a sense of continuity, collective identity, and shared memory by emphasising the importance of the past and establishing links with ancestral figures. The Mycenaean power structures weakened after the palace system collapsed, impacting local institutions in peripheral villages across regions during the EIA. The study of burial customs provides insights into how these communities were structured and reveals symbolic meanings connected to

death and the afterlife. Late Geometric funeral vessels show scenes of mourning through *Prothesis* and *Ekphora*. These vessels highlight the cultural significance of death and mourning during the EIA, depicting various burial-related events significant to the grieving process and sociological aspects, including competition among elites in face-to-face (honour-bound) societies.

10.5 Further Research

Future research should focus on regional variations and advanced scientific techniques to better understand Greece's EIA mortuary practices, including domestic burial customs. This thesis focused on burial records in the Euboean Gulf and connected areas, but an expanded version should include the entirety of Thessaly, Macedonia, Thrace, Chalcidice (particularly Torone), and the North-West Aegean.

Improving records with up-to-date scientific techniques such as osteological, isotopic, and faunal analysis is critical. This multidimensional approach can provide valuable insights into demographics, health, diet, lifestyle, and genetics, mainly when applied across larger regions.[1021] Furthermore, studying object composition and identification can help trace trade networks and cultural preferences, necessitating collaboration with Greek Ephorates and advanced research facilities.[1022]

Revisiting past excavation documentation from a modern perspective is crucial, using systematic record-keeping practices and advanced analytical techniques. This approach can yield overlooked data and reveal new patterns or relationships. Digitising these records and creating an interactive database promotes transparency

[1021] Lazaridis *et* al. 2017; Panagiotopoulou 2018, 2020; Panagiotopoulou & Papathanasiou 2015.
[1022] Knodell 2021: 56-60

and aids future referencing, fostering collaboration and replication studies in archaeology.

APPENDIX 1 – TABLES

Table 1: EIA Athenian burials by chronological sub-division, including transitional periods.*

Period and Area	Cremation	Inhumation	Enchytrismos	Unknown	Total
PG Period – Agora	9	16	3	2	30
PG Period - Kerameikos	41	1	0	2	44
PG Period – Other	23	10	2	2	37
PG All	73	27	5	6	**111**
PG/EG Transition – Agora	3	1	0	0	4
PG/EG Transition – Kerameikos	1	1	0	0	2
PG/EG Transition – Other	5	2	0	0	7
PG/EG All	9	4	0	0	**13**
EG Period – Agora	6	2	0	0	8
EG Period – Kerameikos	8	0	0	0	8
EG Period – Other	4	2	0	0	6
EG All	18	4	0	0	**22**
EG/MG Transition - Agora	1	0	0	0	1
EG/MG Transition - Kerameikos	2	0	0	0	2
EG/MG Transition - Other	1	1	0	2	4
EG/MG All	4	1	0	2	**7**
MG Period – Agora	3	6	0	0	9
MG Period - Kerameikos	22	7	0	2	31
MG Period – Other	20	3	0	8	31
MG All	45	16	0	10	**71**

MG/LG Transition - Agora	0	4	1	0	5
MG/LG Transition - Kerameikos	4	1	0	0	5
MG/LG Transition - Other	1	0	0	0	1
MG/LG All	5	5	1	0	**11**
LG Period – Agora	2	11	0	4	17
LG Period - Kerameikos	11	59	0	3	73
LG Period – Other	42	34	7	0	83
LG All	55	104	7	7	**173**
SubG/EA – Agora	0	0	2	0	2
SubG/EA – Kerameikos	0	0	0	0	0
SubG/EA – Other	1	1	1	0	3
SubG/EA All	1	1	3	0	**5**
Overall Totals	**210**	**162**	**16**	**25**	**413**

* Figures extrapolated from Excavation volumes.[1023]

[1023] See n. 76 and n. 79.

Table 2: Athens, Number of burials in Attica (figures taken from Vizyinou).[1024]

	Geometric Graves	**Sub-Geometric & Archaic Graves**
Kerameikos	133	~ 308
Acropolis, South	99	17
Agora-Areopagos	64	34
Metaxourgeion-Psyris	66	15
Eleusis	133	89
Anavyssos	103	77
Merenta	79	35

[1024] Vizyinou 2019: 13.

Table 3: Athens, Frequency of Burials in the EG period[1025]

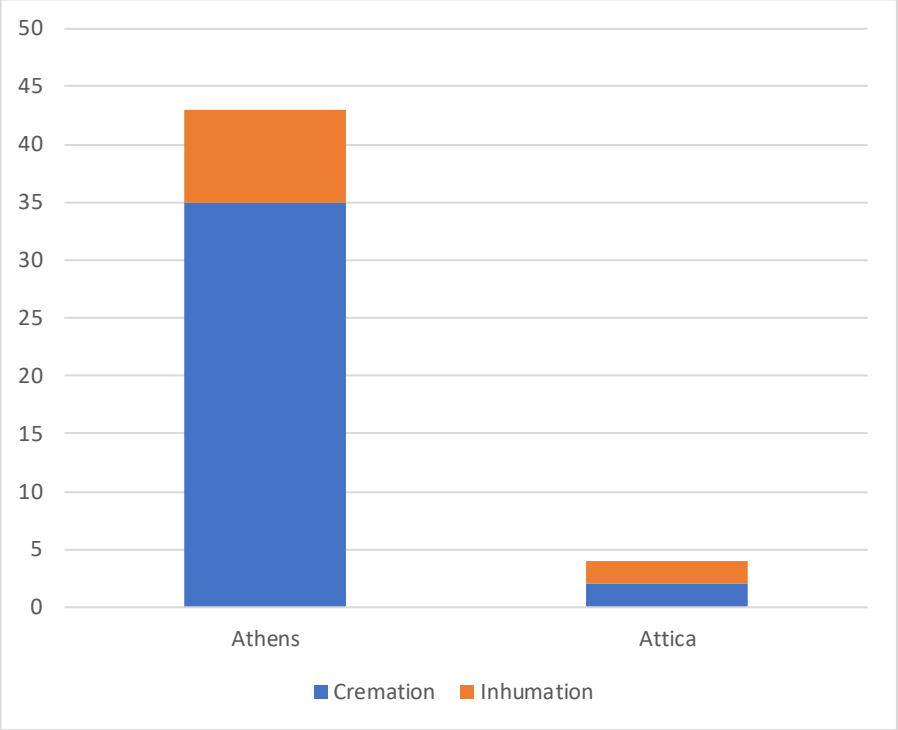
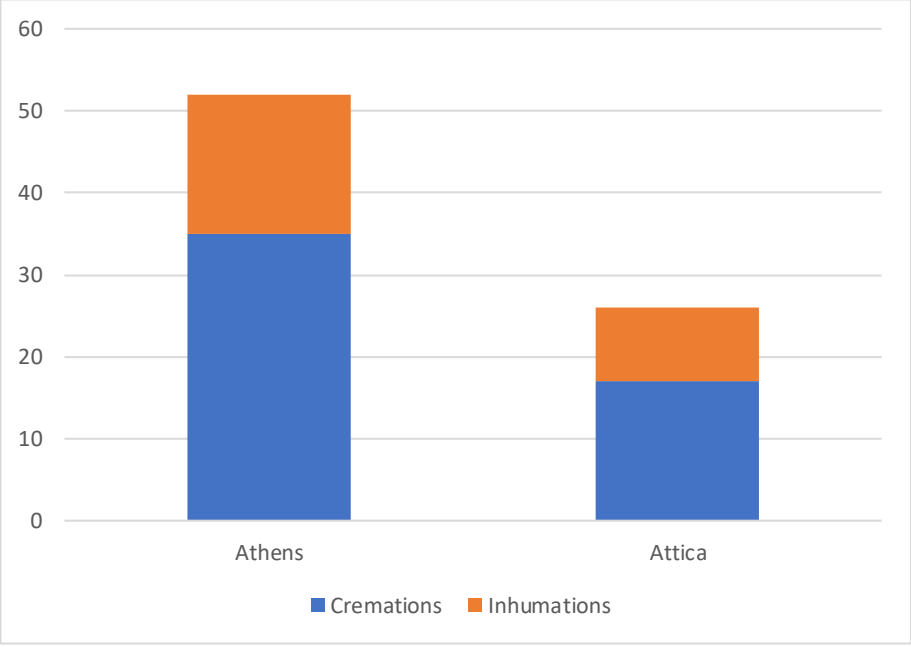


Table 4: Athens, Frequency of Burials in MG period[1026]



[1025] Vizyinou 2019: 16, Fig 3.
[1026] Ibid.

Table 5: Athens, Frequency of Burials in MG period[1027]

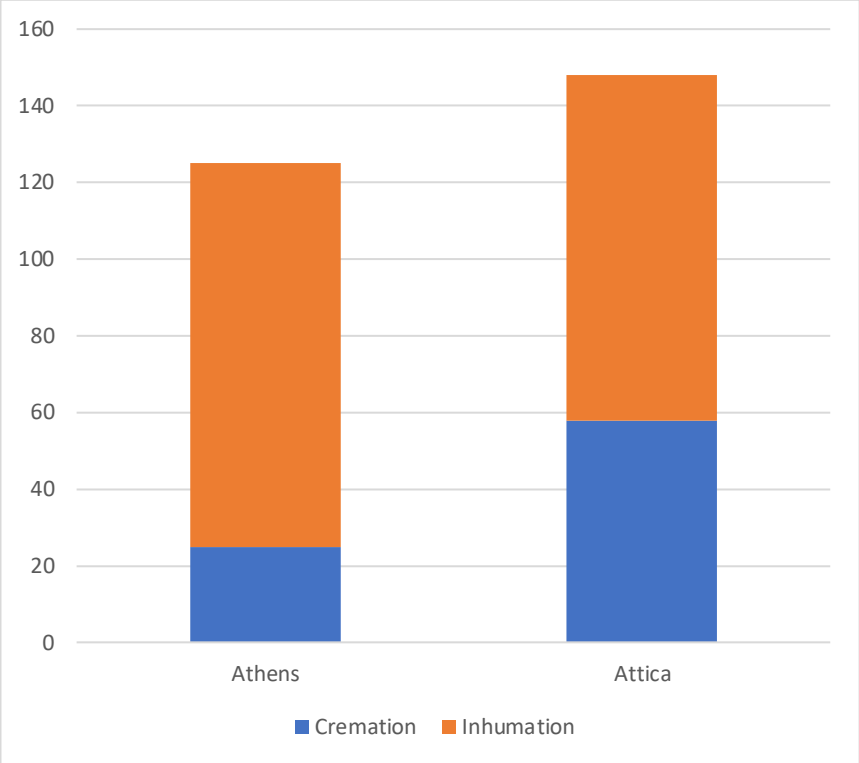


Table 6: Athens, Cremation: Inhumations[1028]

	Athens	Attica
EG	~5:1	3:1
MG	2:1	~ 2:1
LG	1:4	2:3

[1027] Ibid.
[1028] Ibid.

Table 7: Boeotia, LG/EA Burial Clusters in Akondio[1029]

Tomb Type	1st Cluster	2nd Cluster	3rd Cluster	4th Cluster	Total
Cist Tomb	34	10	4	1	45
Enchytrismos	8	3			11
Pit Burial		1	1		2
Total	42	14	5	1	58
Periboloi	1	1			2
Stone Construction			1		1

[1029] Andrikou 1993: 183.

Table 8: Phthiotis Anomalous Burials

Burial Plot Name	Area	Period (if applicable)
Ano Reveniam Neapolis – Sakellaris' Plot[1030]	Lamia	PG
M. Katraki & 18 Octovri Street[1031]	Lamia	Unknown
26 Othonos Street (Klitorki – Mandilari plot) [1032]	Lamia	SPG
Ag. Paraskevi – Sports Stadium[1033]	Lamia	LPG
M Alexandrou Street[1034]	Stylida	Unknown
104 Lamias Street[1035]	Stylida	Geometric
Kostorizou & Achinou Street (B & N. Karagiorgou) [1036]	Stylida	PG
8 Thermopilon Street (1st primary School) [1037]	Stylida	LG
Zakoula Street [1038]	Stylida	LPG
Polikrati & Lamboutsou Street (Christopoulos' plot)[1039]	Stylida	G
31 Karkali Street[1040]	Stylida	PG
Syka[1041]	Ypati	PG
Kotroni Hill[1042]	Perivoli	PG

[1030] Tileli & Psarogianni 2009.
[1031] Karantzali 2005.
[1032] Papadopoulou 2017p.
[1033] Dakoronia, 1998, 2006a.
[1034] Karantzali 2007a.
[1035] Karantzali, 2007b.
[1036] Onasoglou 1981.
[1037] Sipsi 2008.
[1038] Karantzali 2007c.
[1039] Dakoronia 1999: 363-364.
[1040] Karantzali 2007d.
[1041] Papakonstantinou-Katsouni 1986.
[1042] Dakoronia 1994.

Table 9: East Locris, anomalous burials

Burial Plot Name	Area	Period (if applicable)
Veryki	East Locris	Unknown[1043]
3-5 Oileos Street	East Locris	Unknown[1044]
Atalante - Tsakanikas' plot	East Locris	Geometric[1045]

Table 10: Regional diversity of mortuary types over EIA in Chapter 6

Sites in East Locris	Sites in Phthiotis	Sites in Phokis
13 x Cist inhumations	7 x Cist inhumations	3 x chamber
2 x Pit inhumation	8 x chamber tombs	3 x cist inhumations
2 intramurals burials	3 x Pit inhumation	1 x pit inhumation
2 x unspecific	2 x tumuli	1 x enchytrismos
2 x pithos burial	1 x Peribolos	1 x secondary cremation
1 x primary cremation	1 x enchytrismos	4 x unspecified burials
1 x secondary cremation	14 x unspecified burials	

Table 11: Pithekoussai, categorisation of burials by Ridgway.[1046]

Type of burial	Number of burials	Proportion of burials (%)
Inhumation burials in trench burials (with grave goods)	194	39
Enchytrismoi burials	131	27
inhumation burials in trench burials (without grave goods)	81	16
cremation burials under tumuli (with burial grave goods)	73	15
cremation burials under tumuli (without burial grave goods)	14	3

[1043] Lambropoulou 1984: 135-6.
[1044] Papadopoulou 2017af.
[1045] Papadopoulou 2017ag.
[1046] Ridgway 1992: 47-48.

Table 12: Distribution of burial rites and burial goods in Late Geometric I-II.[1047]

	Late Geometric I		***Late Geometric II***		***Total***	
Burial Type	*Burials*	*Objects*	*Burials*	*Objects*	*Burials*	*Objects*
Cremation with goods	23	95	50	307	73	402
Cremation without goods	6	-	8	-	14	-
Inhumation with goods	60	279	134	901	194	1180
Inhumation without goods	17	-	64	-	81	-
Enchytrismoi	19	8	112	72	131	80
Total	*125*	*382*	*368*	*1280*	*493*	*1662*

[1047] Ridgway 1992: 69 Table 2.

Table 13: Overall burial trends

Tomb Type	Inhumation	Primary Cremation	Secondary Cremation	Cremation Unspecified Type	Unknown Burial Type	Total
Unspecified in reports	14	11	5	4	58	92
Cist Burial	39	-	2	1	23	65
Enchytrismoi Burial	64	-	-	-	-	64
Pit Burial	22	3	2	5	7	39
Tholos Burial	9	-	-	2	9	20
Chamber Burial	3	-	1	-	8	12
Pyre	-	4	2	1	1	8
Funerary Periboloi	4	-	-	3	-	7
Sarcophagi Burial	2	-	-	-	-	2
Shaft Burial	1	-	1	-	-	2
Trench Burial	1	-	-	-	-	1
Urn Burial	-	-	1	-	-	1
Cist or Pit Burial?	-	-	-	-	1	1

Table 14: Overall trend in terms of Cremations and Inhumation burials

Burial Type	Frequency of use by site
Inhumation	160
Primary Cremation	18
Secondary Cremation	16
Cremation type unspecified	13
Unspecified Burial type	107

Table 15: Geographical locations of Cist Burials by nearest settlement

Area	Burial Plot / Cemetery	Period
Attica	Oropos	LG
Boeotia	Akondio	LG-EA
Boeotia	Antikyra Gulf	PG - EA
Boeotia	Ellopia	SM-PG
Boeotia	Orchomenos	SPG - LG
Boeotia	Paralimni Lake	MH - G
Boeotia	Thebes	SM - LG
Boeotia	Vranesi	PG - MG
East Locris	Atalante	G-LG
East Locris	Atalante Bay	PG
East Locris	Kainourgio	PG-LG
East Locris	Megaplatanos	LPG
Euboea	Chalcis	EPG - LPG
Euboea	Lefkandi	SM - SPG
Magnesia	Platanos Almirou	EPG
Magnesia	Lyri	EPG - LG
Magnesia	New Halos	EPG - LG
Magnesia	Palaia Volou	SM - PG
Magnesia	Trikeri	EG - EA
Magnesia	Theotokou	SM - PG
Magnesia	Peukakia Volou	EPG - LG
Magnesia	Velestino	EPG - LG
Magnesia	Nea Ionia Volou	EPG - LG
Magnesia	Zerelia	SM - LPG
Magnesia	Persouphli Magoula	EPG - LG
Magnesia	Almiros	EA
Naxos	Naxos Town	PG
Naxos	Tragaia	MG - EA
Paros	Paroikia Bay	LG
Phokis	Parnassida	LG - EA
Phokis	Kallion	G
Phokis	Kallithea	G
Phthiotis	Kalapodi	PG
Phthiotis	Lamia	PG - SPG
Phthiotis	Modi	LPG - SPG
Phthiotis	Neo Monastiri	LG
Phthiotis	Palaiochori	G
Phthiotis	Sophiada Domokou	SPG
Phthiotis	Stylida	PG-G
Skyros	Skyros	PG-EG
Sporades	Skiathos	PG-LG

Table 16: Enchytrismos Burial

Area	Burial Plot / Cemetery	Period
Attica	Athens - Academy	G, LG-EA, EA
Attica	Athens – Agora	LG
Attica	Athens – Central	PG
Attica	Athens - Kerameikos	PG-EA
Attica	Athens - Koukaki	EG, MG, G
Attica	Athens - Votanikos	LG
Attica	Athens - Olympieion	G, PG
Attica	Athens – Thiseio	PG, LG
Attica	Oropos	LG-EA
Euboea	Eretria	MG-EA
Boeotia	Thebes – Pyri	G-EA
Boeotia	Thebes – Tachi	LG-EA
Boeotia	Thebes - NE Cemetery	EA
Boeotia	Thebes – Other	G-EA
Boeotia	Akondio	LG-EA
Boeotia	Antikyra	G
Magnesia	Volos	PG-EA
Phthiotis	Palaiochori	PG
Phthiotis	Modi	PG
Phthiotis	East Locris*	PG-LG
Phokis	Kallion	G

Ischia	Pithekoussai	MG-EA
Naxos	Plithos	LPG-LG
Naxos	Aplomata	PG
Paros	Paroikia	LG

Table 17: Geographical locations of Pit Burials by nearest settlement

Area	Burial Plot / Cemetery	Period
Attica	Oropos	LG-EA
Euboea	Lefkandi	LPG-SPG, LG
Boeotia	Antikyra Gulf	PG - EA
Boeotia	Ellopia	SM-PG
Boeotia	Thebes	SM-EA
Magnesia	Chloe Velestinou	PG-G
Magnesia	New Halos	SM - G
Magnesia	Velestino	EPG - LG
Magnesia	Nea Ionia Volou	EPG - LG
Magnesia	Sesklo	EPG - LG
Magnesia	Persouphli Magoula	EPG - LG
Phthiotis	Stylida	PG - LG
East Locris	Kainourgio	PG - LG
Phokis	Logari	G - EA
Naxos	Naxos Town	LPG - LG
Naxos	Tragaia	MG -EA
Ischia	San Montano necropolis	MG -EA

Table 18: Tholos Tomb

Area	Burial Plot / Cemetery	Period
Magnesia	Kerasea (NW Mt Pelion)	PG - G
Magnesia	Anavra / former Goura Almirou	EPG - LG
Magnesia	Lyri	EPG - LG
Magnesia	Mileai	EPG - LG
Magnesia	Chloe Velestinou	PG-G
Magnesia	New Halos	SM - LG
Magnesia	Dimini	EPG - LG
Magnesia	Labinou	EPG - LG
Magnesia	Velestino	EPG - LG
Magnesia	Nea Ionia Volou	EPG - LG
Magnesia	Pteleos	EPG - LG
Magnesia	Sesklo	EPG - LPG
Magnesia	Persouphli Magoula	EPG - LG
Magnesia	Nea Anchialos	PG
Phthiotis	Neo Monastiri	PG, LG - EA

Table 19: Chamber tombs

Area	Burial Plot / Cemetery	Period
Magnesia	Persouphli Magoula	EPG - LG
Phthiotis	Agnanti	PG
Phthiotis	Elateia	PG
Phthiotis	Exarchos	EIA
Phthiotis	Kalivia Lamias	PG
Phthiotis	Kompotades	PG
Phthiotis	Stavros	PG - EA
Phokis	Itea Gulf	PG - LPG
Phokis	Delphi	PG, LG
Boeotia	Thebes*	PG
Magnesia	Velestino*	EPG - LG

Table 20: Burial Enclosures found

Area	Burial Plot / Cemetery	Period	Notes
Athens	Areopagos (SW of the Acropolis)	BA-EIA	Peribolos Wall around cemetery
Boeotia	Akondio	LG-EA	Periboloi
Magnesia	New Halos	SM-G	Peribolos attached to Tumulus
Phthiotis	Lamia	PG	Funerary peribolos walls
East Locris	Atalante	LPG	Funerary peribolos
Naxos	Naxos Town	PG	Periboloi walls within later Tumulus
Naxos	Aplomata	PG-EA	Funerary Peribolos
Naxos	Plithos	PG	Enclosure walls around burials
Boeotia	Ypaton	LG	Peribolos Wall
East Locris	Kainourgio	LPG-LG	Peribolos Wall

Table 21: Pyres

Area	Burial Plot / Cemetery	Period	Notes
Attica	Athens: Kerameikos	PG-GP	Pyre
Attica	Athens: Tholos	GP	Pyre
Euboea	Lefkandi: Skoubris cemetery	MPG - SPG	Pyre
Euboea	Lefkandi: Palia Perivolia and East Cemeteries	LPG - SPG	Pyre
Euboea	Lefkandi: Toumba cemetery	LPG - SPG	Pyre
Euboea	Lefkandi: Khaliotis tombs	SM	Pyre
Euboea	Karystos	G	Pyre
Euboea	Eretria	LG	Urn
Boeotia	Ellopia	SM-PG	Pyre
Boeotia	Thebes	G - EA	Pyre
Naxos	Naxos Town	MPG - LG	Pyre

Table 22: Tumuli

Area	Burial Plot / Cemetery	Cremation	Inhumation
Athens	Plattenbau	NA	Yes
Euboea	Lefkandi Toumba Building	Yes	Yes
Oropos	Building θ	NA	Yes
Boeotia	Paralimni Lake	NA	Yes
Boeotia	Vranesi	Yes	Yes
Magnesia	Halos – Agrelia	Yes	Yes
Magnesia	Halos - Voulokaliva	NA	Yes
Magnesia	Alonaki	Yes	Yes
Phthiotis	Tsikrika	Unknown	Unknown
Pithekoussai	San Montano	Yes	No
Naxos	Tsikalario	Unknown	Unknown

Table 23: Heroa

Area	Burial Plot / Cemetery	Period	Cremation	Inhumation

Athens	Aeropagos Oval Building	LG	Yes	Yes
Euboea	Lefkandi Toumba Building	MPG	Yes	Yes
Euboea	Eretria *Heroön*	LG/EA	Yes	Yes
Attica	Oropos *Heroön*	LG	Unknown	Unknown

Table 24: Shaft Graves

Area	Burial Plot / Cemetery	Period	Cremation	Inhumation
Attica	Athens - Academy	G, LG-EA, EA	Y	Y
Attica	Athens - Central	PG	Y	Y
Attica	Athens - Koukaki	EG, MG, G	Y	Y
Attica	Athens - Makrigianni	LG-EA	Unspecified	Unspecified
Attica	Athens - Votanikos	LG	Y	Unspecified
Attica	Athens - Olympieion	G, PG	Unspecified	Unspecified
Attica	Athens – Psyri	LG, PG, G	Y	Unspecified
Attica	Athens - Thiseio	PG, LG	Unspecified	Unspecified
Attica?	Oropos	LG	Unspecified	Y
Magnesia	Anavra	PG-G	Y	Y
Naxos?	Tsikalario	MG-EA	Y	Y
Phthiotis?	Kalivia Lamias	PG	Unspecified	Unspecified

Table 25: Sarcophagi Burials

Area	**Burial Plot / Cemetery**	**Period**	**Cremation**	**Inhumation**
East Locris	**Atalante**	**LPG**	**Unspecified**	**Inhumation**
East Locris	**Tragana**	**MG - LG**	**Unspecified**	**Inhumation**

Table 26: Burial Chronological trend

Area	Period	Majority Burial Type
Athens	PG	Cremation
Athens	EG	Cremation
Athens	MG	Inhumation
Athens	LG/EA	Inhumation and Cremation
Lefkandi	SM	Inhumation and Cremation
Lefkandi	MPG - SPG	Hybrid?
Eretria	SPGII	Cremation
Eretria	MG	Cremation
Eretria	MG/LG	Inhumation
Eretria	LG	Inhumation and Cremation
Oropos	SPG-LG	Inhumation
Boeotia	PG - LG	Inhumation
Thessaly	PG - LG	Inhumation
Phthiotis	PG - LG	Inhumation
Pithekoussai	MG-EA	Inhumation and Cremation
Naxos	PG - LG	Inhumation
Skiathos	PG - EA	Inhumation
Skyros	PG - SPG	Inhumation
Paros	PG - LG	Inhumation
Paros	LGIIa	Cremation

Table 27: Burial Plots / Cemeteries with unambiguous evidence for ritual feasting or ritual libations

Area	Burial Plot / Cemetery	Period	Ritual Libations	Ritual Feasting	Chthonic Banqueting Hall
Athens	Kerameikos	PG-G	YES	YES	-
Athens	The Sacred House	LG-EA	YES	-	Yes
Athens	Middle Stoa	LG	YES	YES	
Attica	Oropos	LG-EA	YES	YES	Yes
East Locris	Atlante	LPG	YES	-	-
East Locris	Ag. Dimitrios	LPG	YES	-	-
Euboea	Lefkandi: Toumba	MPG - SPG	YES	YES	-
Euboea	Eretria - West Gate Cemetery	LG	YES	YES	-
Ischia	Pithekoussai	LG-EA	YES	YES	-
Magnesia	Halos – Agrelia	SM - G	YES	YES	-
Magnesia	Halos – Voulokaliva	PG - A	YES	YES	-
Magnesia	Halos – Kephalosi	PG	YES	-	-
Magnesia	Volos	PG-G		YES	-
Magnesia	Anavra	PG-EA	YES		-
Magnesia	Nea Anchialos	PG-G	YES	YES	-

Naxos	Metropolis Square	PG, EG-LG	YES	YES	-
Naxos	Plithos	LPG/SPG TO LG	YES	YES	-
Paros	Paroikia	LGIIA	YES	-	-
Phokis	Delphi	EPG, LG	YES	-	-
Rural Boeotia	Akondio	LG-EA	YES		-
Rural Boeotia	Akraiphia	MG-LG	YES	YES	-
Rural Boeotia	Paralimni Lake	LG	YES	YES	-
Rural Boeotia	Antikyra	PG	YES	-	-
Rural Boeotia	Antikyra	EG	YES	-	-
Rural Boeotia	Orchomenos	PG-LG	YES	-	-
Rural Boeotia	Vranesi	PG-MG	YES	-	-
Thebes	Tachi	MG-LG	YES	YES	-
Thebes	Pyri	LG-EA	YES	-	-

Table 28: Evidence for Ancestor Veneration

Area	Burial Plot / Cemetery	Period	Heir Looms or unusual finds	Ancestor veneration	Re-use
Athens	Kerameikos	PG-G	-	YES	-
Athens	Middle Stoa	LG	-	-	YES
Attica	Oropos	LG-EA	-	YES	-
East Locris	Atalante	LPG	YES	-	-
Euboea	Lefkandi: Toumba	MPG - SPG	YES	YES	-
Euboea	Eretria - West Gate Cemetery	LG	YES	YES	-
Ischia	Pithekoussai	LG-EA	-	YES	-
Magnesia	Velestino	EPG-LG	-	YES	-
Magnesia	Halos – Agrelia	SM - G	-	YES	YES
Magnesia	Volos	PG-G	-	YES	YES
Magnesia	Anavra	PG-EA	-		YES
Magnesia	Modern Pteleos	PG	-	YES	YES
Naxos	Tragaia	MG-EA	-	YES	-
Paros	Paroikia	LGIIa	YES	YES	-
Phokis	Itea Gulf	LHIIIC, LPG	-	YES	-
Phthiotis	Lama	PG-EA	-	-	YES
Phthiotis	Exarchos	PG	-	YES	-
Rural Boeotia	Akondio	LG-EA	YES	-	-
Rural Boeotia	Akraiphia	MG-LG	YES	-	-

Rural Boeotia	Paralimni Lake	LG	YES	YES	YES
Rural Boeotia	Antikyra	EG	-	YES	-
Rural Boeotia	Ellopia	SM-PG	YES	-	-
Thebes	Tachi	MG-LG	YES	YES	-
Thebes	Pyri	LG-EA	YES	-	-
Thebes	NE Cemetery	LG-EA	YES	-	-
Thebes	Anomalous burials	PG	YES	YES	-

Table 29: List of Tumulus, Chamber, Tholos Tombs, and Grave Markers

Area	Burial Plot / Cemetery	Period	Tumulus / Tholos	Grave Marker / Sema
Athens	Kerameikos	PG-G	Yes - Tumulus	Oversized receptacles
Athens	Acropolis	PG - EA	Yes - Tholos	-
Attica	Oropos	LG-EA	Yes - Tumulus	Sema (Tumulus)
East Locris	Atlante	LPG	-	Skyphos outside the grave
East Locris	Ag. Dimitrios	LPG	-	Stone Cairn
East Locris	Tragana	MG-LG	-	Group markers, rectangular stone blocks.
Euboea	Lefkandi: Toumba	MPG - SPG	Yes - Tumulus	Krater as a sema
Euboea	Eretria - West Gate Cemetery	LG	-	*Heroön* as sema?
Ischia	Pithekoussai	LG-EA	Yes - Tumulus	Oversized Kraters, Stone markers for inhumation.
Magnesia	Velestino	EPG-LG	Yes - Tholoi	-
Magnesia	Chloe Velestinou	EPG-LG	Yes - Tumuli	-
Magnesia	Halos - Agrelia	SM - G	Yes - Tumulus, Tholos	Standing Slab as sema

Magnesia	Halos - Voulokaliva	PG - A	Yes - Tumuli	-
Magnesia	Sesklo	PG - G	Yes - Tholos	-
Naxos	Grotta-Metropolis	MPG-LPG	Yes - Tumulus	-
Naxos	Tragaia	MG – EA	Yes - Tumulus	Menhir
Paros	Paroikia	LGIIa	-	Grave Markers

Table 30: Evidence for elite burials

Area	Burial Plot / Cemetery	Period	Weapons Burial	'Wealthy' Burial
Athens	Kerameikos	PG - G	-	YES
East Locris	Atalante	LPG	YES	YES
Euboea	Lefkandi: Skoubris	SM - SPG	-	YES
Euboea	Lefkandi: Palia Perivolia	SM - SPG	-	YES
Euboea	Lefkandi: Toumba	MPG - SPG	YES	YES
Euboea	Eretria - West Gate Cemetery	LG	YES	YES
Magnesia	Velestino	EPG - LG	-	YES
Magnesia	Chloe Velestinou	EPG - LG	YES	YES
Magnesia	Halos - Agrelia	SM - G	YES	YES
Magnesia	Halos - Voulokaliva	PG - A	YES	YES
Magnesia	Halos - Kephalosi	PG	-	YES
Magnesia	Volos	PG	YES	-
Magnesia	Anavra	PG - EA	YES	-
Magnesia	Nea Anchialos	PG - G	YES	-

Naxos	Tragaia	MG-EA	YES	YES
Naxos	Metropolis Square	PG, EG - LG	YES	-
Naxos	Plithos	LPG/SPG - LG	-	YES
Paros	Paroikia	LGIIA	YES	-
Phokis	Delphi	EPG, LG	YES	-
Rural Boeotia	Akraiphia	MG - LG	YES	-
Rural Boeotia	Paralimni Lake	LG	YES	YES
Rural Boeotia	Ellopia	SM - PG	YES	-
Rural Boeotia	Sanctuary of Athena Itonia	LG	YES	-
Rural Boeotia	Vranesi	PG - MG	-	YES
Rural Boeotia	Solinari	EG	-	YES
Thebes	Pyri	LG - EA	YES	-

Table 31: Evidence for enchytrismoi

Area	Burial Plot / Cemetery	Period
Athens	Agora	PG - G
Athens	The Sacred House	LG - EA
Athens	Acropolis	PG - LG/EA
Athens	Aeropagos	LG
Athens	Building C	LG
Attica	Oropos	LG-EA
East Locris	Atlante	LPG
East Locris	Ag. Dimitrios	LPG
East Locris	Tragana	MG - LG
Euboea	Lefkandi: Xeropolis	LG
Euboea	Eretria - West Gate Cemetery	LG
Euboea	Eretria - West Cemetery	MG - EA
Euboea	Bouratza plot	MG - EA
Euboea	Roussos plot	MG/LG
Ischia	Pithekoussai	LG - EA
Naxos	Tragaia	MG - EA
Naxos	Plithos	LPG/SPG - LG
Naxos	Aplomata	PG - EA
Paros	Paroikia	LGIIA
Phokis	Kallion	G
Phthiotis	Paliochori	PG
Rural Boeotia	Antikyra	EG
Rural Boeotia	Ellopia	SM-PG
Thebes	Tachi	MG-LG
Thebes	Pyri	LG-EA
Thebes	NE Cemetery	LG-EA

Table 32: Burial Plots with evidence for Cremation

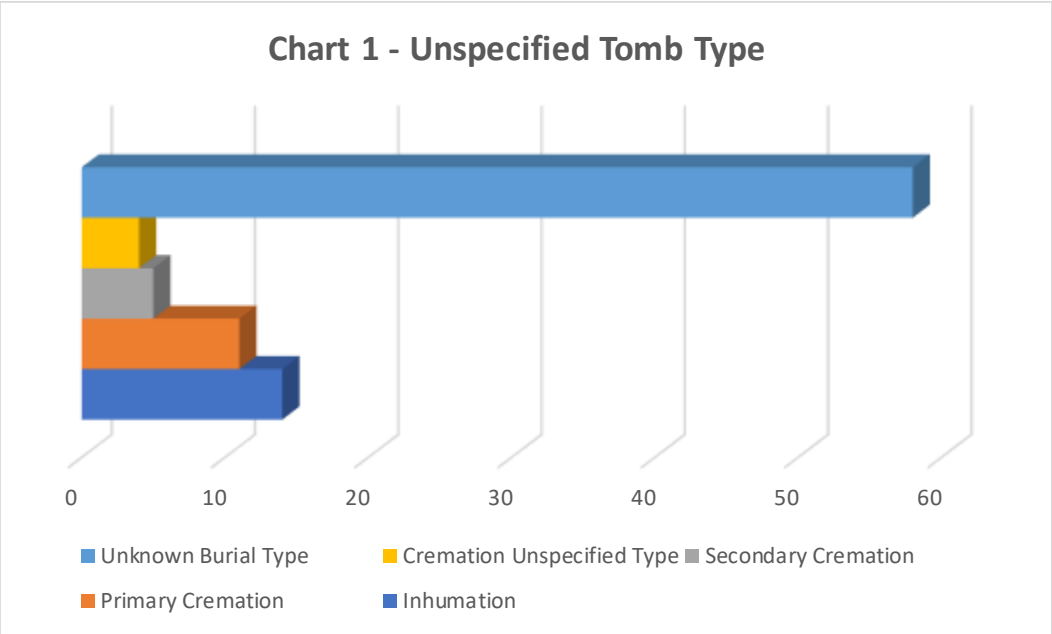
Area	Burial Plot / Cemetery	Period
Athens	Kerameikos	PG-G
Athens	Vasilissis Sophia	PG-G
Athens	Agora	PG-G
Athens	Acropolis	PG-G
Athens	Mouseion	PG-G
Athens	Nea Ionia	PG-G
Athens	The Sacred House	LG-EA
Athens	Academy	
Athens	Aeropagos	LG
Athens	Middle Stoa	LG
East Locris	Ag. Dimitrios	LPG
East Locris	Tragana	MG-LG
Euboea	Lefkandi: Khaliotis field	SM
Euboea	Lefkandi: Skoubris	SM-SPG
Euboea	Lefkandi: Palia Perivolia	SM-SPG
Euboea	Eretria - West Gate Cemetery	LG
Euboea	Eretria - West Cemetery	MG-EA
Euboea	Bouratza plot	MG-EA
Ischia	Pithekoussai	LG-EA
Magnesia	Velestino	EPG-LG
Magnesia	Halos - Agrelia	SM - G
Magnesia	Halos - Voulokaliva	PG - A
Magnesia	Sesklo	PG-G
Magnesia	Volos	PG
Magnesia	Anavra	PG-EA
Naxos	Tragaia	MG-EA
Naxos	Metropolis Square	PG, EG-LG
Naxos	Plithos	LPG/SPG - LG

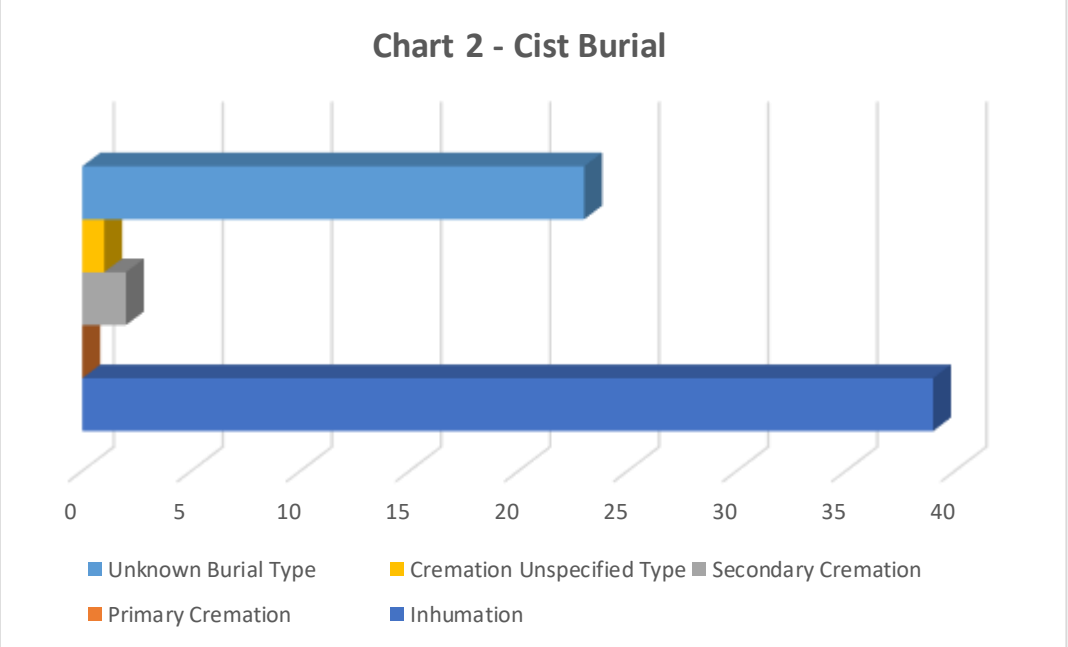
Paros	Paroikia	LGIIA
Phokis	Delphi	EPG, LG
Rural Boeotia	Antikyra	PG
Rural Boeotia	Antikyra	EG
Rural Boeotia	Sanctuary of Athena Itonia	LG
Rural Boeotia	Orchomenos	PG-LG
Rural Boeotia	Vranesi	PG-MG
Rural Boeotia	Solinari	EG
Thebes	Tachi	MG-LG
Thebes	Pyri	LG-EA
Thebes	NE Cemetery	LG-EA

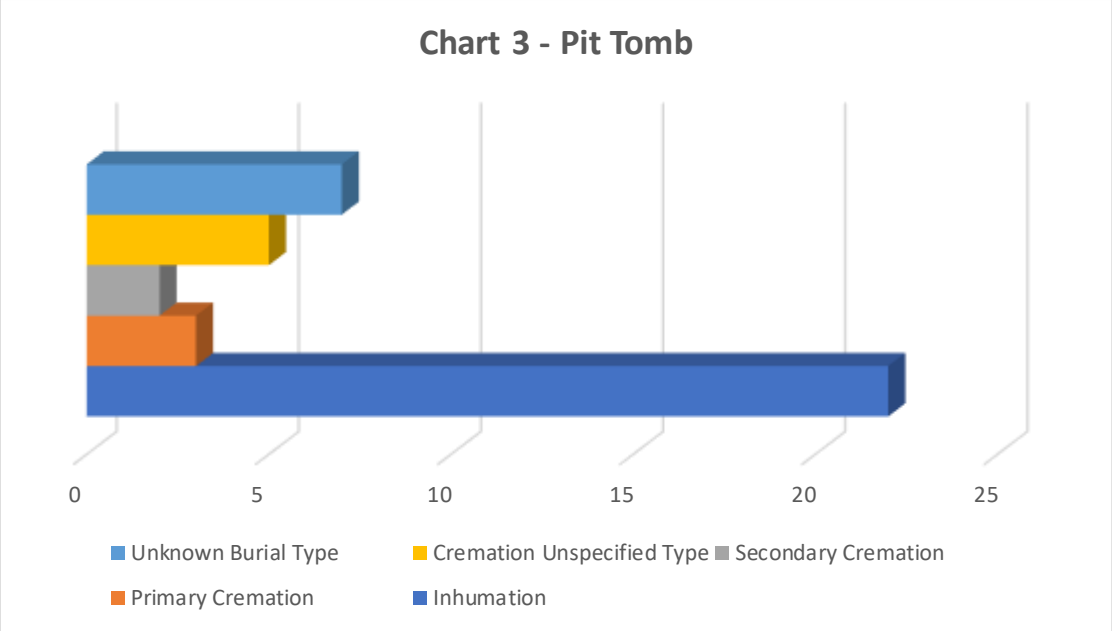
Table 33: Significant Ritual Building

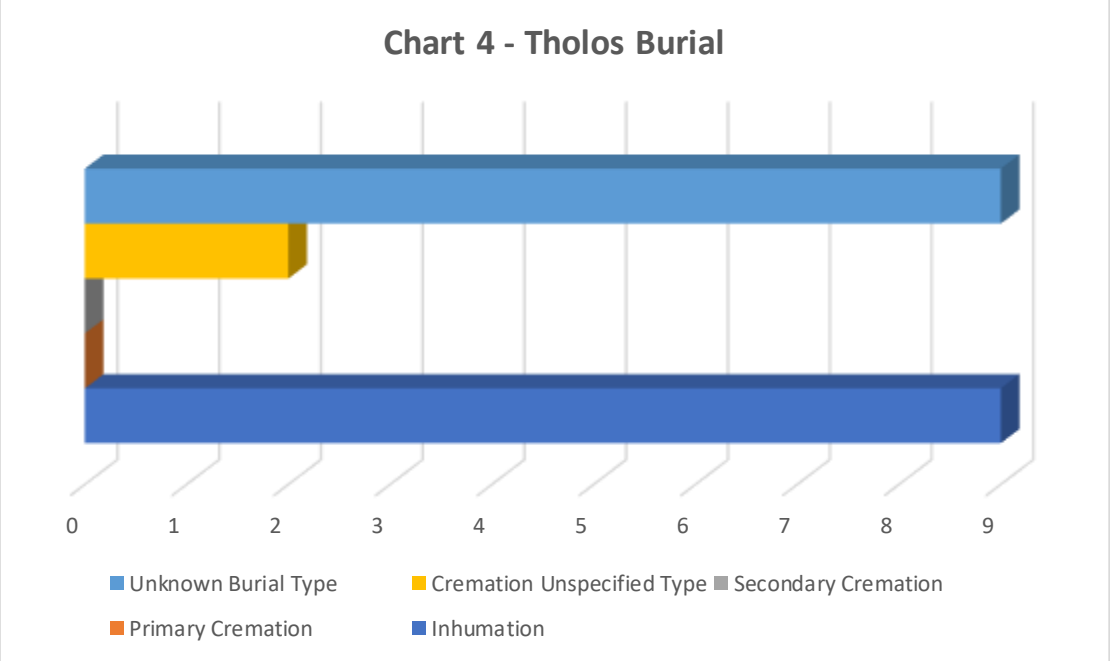
Region/City	Name	Period
Athens	The Sacred House Herakleidon Building The Oval Building	EG-LG PG-LG EG-LG
Eretria	Oval Building (Rousso plot)	MGII-LG
Eretria	'Triangular' Structure	EA
Oropos	*Heroön*	LG-EA
Thessaly	Kephalosi	PG
East Locris	Mitrou	PG
Naxos	Tragaia - Building A	MG-EA
Lefkandi	*Heroön*	PG

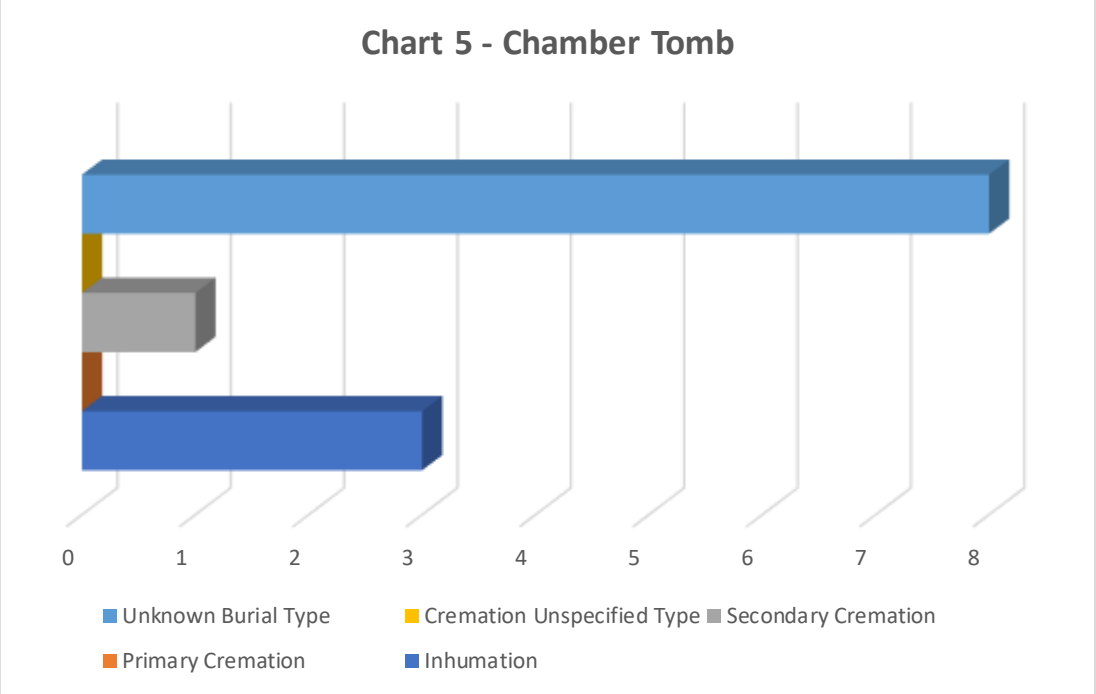
APPENDIX 2 – SUPPLEMENTARY CHARTS

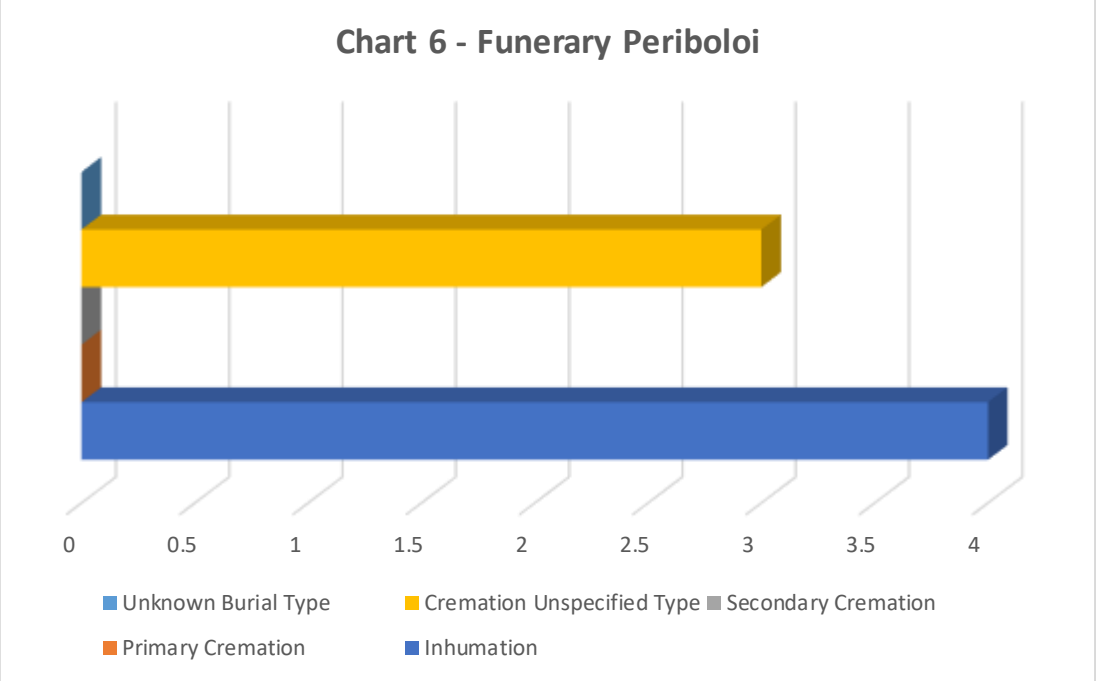





Chart 3 - Pit Tomb
0
5
10
15
20
25
Unknown Burial Type
Cremation Unspecified Type
Secondary Cremation
Primary Cremation
Inhumation


Chart 4 - Tholos Burial
0
1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9
Unknown Burial Type
Cremation Unspecified Type
Secondary Cremation
Primary Cremation
Inhumation


Chart 5 - Chamber Tomb
0
1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
Unknown Burial Type
Cremation Unspecified Type
Secondary Cremation
Primary Cremation
Inhumation


Chart 6 - Funerary Periboloi
0
0.5
1
1.5
2
2.5
3
3.5
4
Unknown Burial Type
Cremation Unspecified Type
Secondary Cremation
Primary Cremation
Inhumation

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